DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 373 394 EA 025 989

AUTHOR	Dwyer, David C.; And Others
TITLE	Understanding the Principal's Contribution to Instruction: Seven Principals, Seven Stories. Case #2: Frances Hedges, Principal of an Urban Elementary School.
INSTITUTION	Far West Lab. for Educational Research and Development, San Francisco, CA. Instructional Management Program.
...'S AGENCY	Office of Educational Research and Improvement (ED), Washington, DC.
PUB DATE	Nov 85
CONTRACT	400-83-0003
NOTE	126p.; Prepared under the "Instructional Management Program". For Volume 1 ("Methodology") and the other case studies, see EA 025 987-994.
PUB TYPE	Reports - Research/Technical (143)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Administrator Role; *Behavior Patterns; Case Studies; Communication (Thought Transfer); *Educational Environment; Elementary Education; Ethnography; *Instructional Leadership; Leadership Styles; *Principals; Qualitative Research; Urban Schools; Work Environment
IDENTIFIERS	*California (San Francisco Bay Area); Management Styles; *School Culture

ABSTRACT

This case study presents findings from a year-long ethnographic study of a principal of an elementary school in a stable, urban environment. It concludes one of seven studies conducted in elementary and intermediate schools in urban, suburban, and rural settings to investigate the instructional management role of principals. Although previous research is inconclusive, this series finds that principals can significantly alter their schools' instructional systems and students' social and academic experiences. Using observations of principals' activities and interviews with students and staff, the seemingly chaotic behavior of principals may be construed as purposive. Activities compose nine categories (goal setting and planning; monitoring; evaluating; communicating; scheduling, allocating resources, and organizing; staffing; modeling; governing; and filling in). The purposes or targets behind these actions include work structure, staff relations, student relations, safety and order, plant and equipment, community relations, institutional relations, and institutional ethos. Principal Frances Hedges exemplifies how principals can influence instruction through school culture. Most of her routine activities involved communication; governing; monitoring; scheduling, allocating resources, and organizing; and goal-setting and planning. Hedge's primary target was work structures. Hedge's child-centered approach to education, stressing the importance of a caring, nurturing environment, shaped the structure of the school program and her management style. (Contains 64 references.) (MLH)

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Instructional Management Program

ED 373 394

Understanding the Principal's Contribution to Instruction: Seven Principals, Seven Stories

Case #2: Frances Hedges, Principal of an Urban Elementary School

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EA 025 989

November 1985

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UNDERSTANDING THE PRINCIPAL'S CONTRIBUTION TO INSTRUCTION:

SEVEN PRINCIPALS, SEVEN STORIES

Case #2:

Frances Hedges,

Principal of an Urban Elementary School

David C. Dwyer
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This report was supported by a contract from the National Institute of Education, Department of Education, under Contract No. 400-83-0003. The contents of this report do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the Department of Education or the National Institute of Education.

ABSTRACT

This case study presents the findings from a yearlong, ethnographic study of a principal of an elementary school in a stable, urban environment. It concludes one of a series of studies in elementary and intermediate schools in urban, suburban, and rural settings undertaken to investigate the instructional management role of principals.

Although previous research offers disparate views about the potency of principals as instructional leaders and managers, this series of studies has found that principals can significantly alter the instructional systems of their schools and thereby the social and academic experiences of students.

Through hundreds of hours of observation of principals' activities and through interviews with students, teachers, and principals about the antecedents and consequences of principals' activities, we have construed principals' seemingly chaotic behavior as purposive action. Patterns emerge in the analysis of principals' routine actions that reveal their importance for the creation and maintenance of instructional climates and organizations that are responsive to an array of contextual factors.

FOREWORD

> In the past decade public educators have had to learn how to cope with three kinds of scarcity: pupils, money, and public confidence. Of the three shortages perhaps the most unsettling has been the decline in confidence in a profession that for so long had millennial aspirations of service to the nation. (Tyack & Hansot, 1984, p. 33)

Those of us who care about and watch our schools cannot help but notice that the buildings and the students have changed. We need only listen to the experiences that our children report nightly around the dinner table in order to conclude, not always happily, that things are different today. The media report violence in the schools, poor student achievement, and disappointing facts about the preparation and performance of teachers. And recently, a panel of educational leaders, appointed in 1981 by Secretary of Education Bell, concluded that our schools have deteriorated to such an extent that "our nation is at risk" (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983).

Into this troubled arena--into its very center--the school principal has been thrust by those who have studied "effective" schools (e.g., Armor et al., 1976; Brookover & Lezotte, 1977; Venezky & Winfield, 1979; Weber, 1971; Wynne, 1981). These researchers have successfully resurrected an old maxim: effective principal, effective school. Some proponents of this work have been very explicit about their faith in the capacity of the school principal. One supporter has asserted that:

> One of the most tangible and indispensable characteristics of effective schools is strong administrative leadership, without which the disparate elements of good schooling can neither be brought together nor kept together. (Edmonds, 1979, p. 32)

Thus, school principals find themselves in the spotlight, expected to shoulder successfully the awesome responsibility of school reform.

Is this a fair expectation? While the effective-school researchers have stressed the importance of the principal in the process of school improvement, other investigators have argued that the work of principals is varied, fragmented, and little concerned with the improvement of instruction (Peterson, 1978; Pitner, 1982; Sproull, 1979). Similarly, our own reviews of the effective-schools research have recommended caution about its conclusions (Bossert, Dwyer, Rowan, & Lee, 1982; Rowan, Bossert, & Dwyer, 1983). And at the very time that these scholars are proclaiming the potency of the principal as an instructional leader, principals themselves report decreases in their power and autonomy as school leaders. School administrators claim to make fewer decisions regarding instruction at the building level and they express feelings of isolation (Goldhammer, 1971). And as the theoretical debate continues, principals are being held accountable for students' academic performance and achievement scores. In some instances, parent groups are demanding the removal of principals who lead schools where children perform below expectations on standardized achievement tests.

The Instructional Management Program of the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development was created to examine critically the role of the principal in the development and execution of successful instructional programs. We began our work by questioning the common assertions of the effective-schools research. For example, as a basic query, we asked: If successful principals are those who create schools where the climate is safe and orderly, where basic skills are emphasized, where teachers hold high expectations for their students, and where instructional programs are tied closely to carefully monitored objectives, what do principals do to institute and maintain those conditions?

We began our effort to address this question with a careful review of an array of educational and organizational literatures. Subsequently, we suggested a theoretical model that related individual and contextual variables to the behavior of principals, and we speculated about how those behaviors might influence the instructional organization and social climate of a school and, in turn, affect student outcomes (see Bossert et al., 1982).

Guided by our theoretical conception, we then spoke with 32 principals from the San Francisco Bay Area about their work. These long, open-ended interviews produced a wealth of information about the principals' own perceptions of how their behavior as instructional leaders or managers was influenced by their communities, districts, and personal histories. These men and women described their schools' climates and instructional organizations and discussed their efforts to shape the form and the content of instruction and to color the ambience of their schools. From these preliminary forays into the worlds of school administrators, we received a very strong impression: Principals work under diverse conditions and pressures, and they pursue

solutions that affect instruction and student achievement in many different ways.

For us, the public's demand for the improvement of schools and instruction, the ongoing argument about the principal's role, and the promise we saw in the principals' own views about their activities merited an intensive effort to work with principals in their schools. As collaborators, we wanted to gain a realistic understanding of their role and of the limits of their responsibility in attaining more effective schools.

Probing the Workaday World of Principals

As a first step in achieving such an understanding, we invited five of the 32 principals whom we had interviewed to join us in an eight-week pilot study. Our purpose was to observe principals in action, validating their spoken stories on the one hand and gaining direct knowledge of their activities on the other. The five principals represented Blacks and Whites of both sexes from schools with diverse student populations, differing socioeconomic contexts, and varied approaches to instructional management. As we studied these principals, we were able to field-test our primary data-gathering procedures--the shadow and the reflective interview--which were to allow us access to the personal meanings that principals attached to their actions (the design and results of this pilot study are fully discussed in Five Principals in Action: Perspectives on Instructional Management, Dwyer, Lee, Rowan, & Bossert, 1983). Our intent during this phase of our program's work was to listen to how principals described both their role in instruction and the conditions and events shaping that role.

After the pilot phase, we contacted 12 more principals, this time selected from urban, suburban, and rural schools, to help us extend our understanding of instructional leadership and management through a yearlong study of their activities. These individuals had all been nominated as successful principals by their superiors. They varied by gender, age, ethnicity, and experience. Their schools ran the gamut from rural to urban, small to large, poor to rich, traditional to innovative. For hundreds of hours we watched the activities of these principals, looking for the consequences of their actions for teachers and students throughout their schools. (See the companion volume, Methodology, for a thorough treatment of participant selection, data-gathering procedures, and analysis of data).

A Potent Role in Instructional Management

As we watched our experienced principals perform their daily activities, we also witnessed the uncertain environments with which they coped. We saw that the decreases in the number of students, financial resources, and public confidence to which Tyack and Hansot refer did have an effect on schools. In addition, we documented demographic shifts that moved students in

and out of schools at alarming rates; court actions that had administrators, board members, and teachers looking over their shoulders; and a changing political climate that affected the very conception of what schooling might be. All of these were significant factors in the schools in which we worked. The reality is that educators work in shifting environments that are difficult to predict. Further, there is no reason to believe that the conditions contributing to this uncertainty will disappear.

Against this backdrop, the importance of the principal's role and the limitations principals face became apparent. Figure 1 (see page v) illustrates the principal's key position, bridging context and school, policy and program, means and ends. The principal's importance emerges from that position. He or she has the greatest access to the wishes and needs of district leaders, parents and community members, school staff, and students. With experience and training, he or she has the best opportunity to formulate an image of schooling that is relevant and responsive to those groups and to begin to bring that image into being. We believe that this is exactly what our principals were about: Through routine activities they attempted to bring to life their overarching visions, while at the same time monitoring their systems to keep these visions relevant.

Our principals demonstrated their abilities to tap the wishes and resources of their communities and districts. We observed their capacities to be sensitive to the needs of their students and staffs. But what we found most impressive was their ability to create and sustain an image of what quality schooling might be. Through all of the uncertainty and conflict that characterized their environments, these principals worked to instill their visions in their staffs and patrons, defining a mission in which all might participate. We believe that this may be their most potent role.

Seven Principals, Seven Stories

From our yearlong study of the activities of principals in their schools, we have prepared seven case studies. Each study portrays how the principal is influenced by his or her context. Each study also describes how the principal set about improving or maintaining the instructional program in his or her school. Together, the studies demonstrate the complexities and subtleties of the principal's role. This series contains the stories of:

1. Emma Winston, Principal of an Inner-City Elementary School;

2. Frances Hedges, Principal of an Urban Elementary School;

3. Ray Murdock, Principal of a Rural Elementary School;

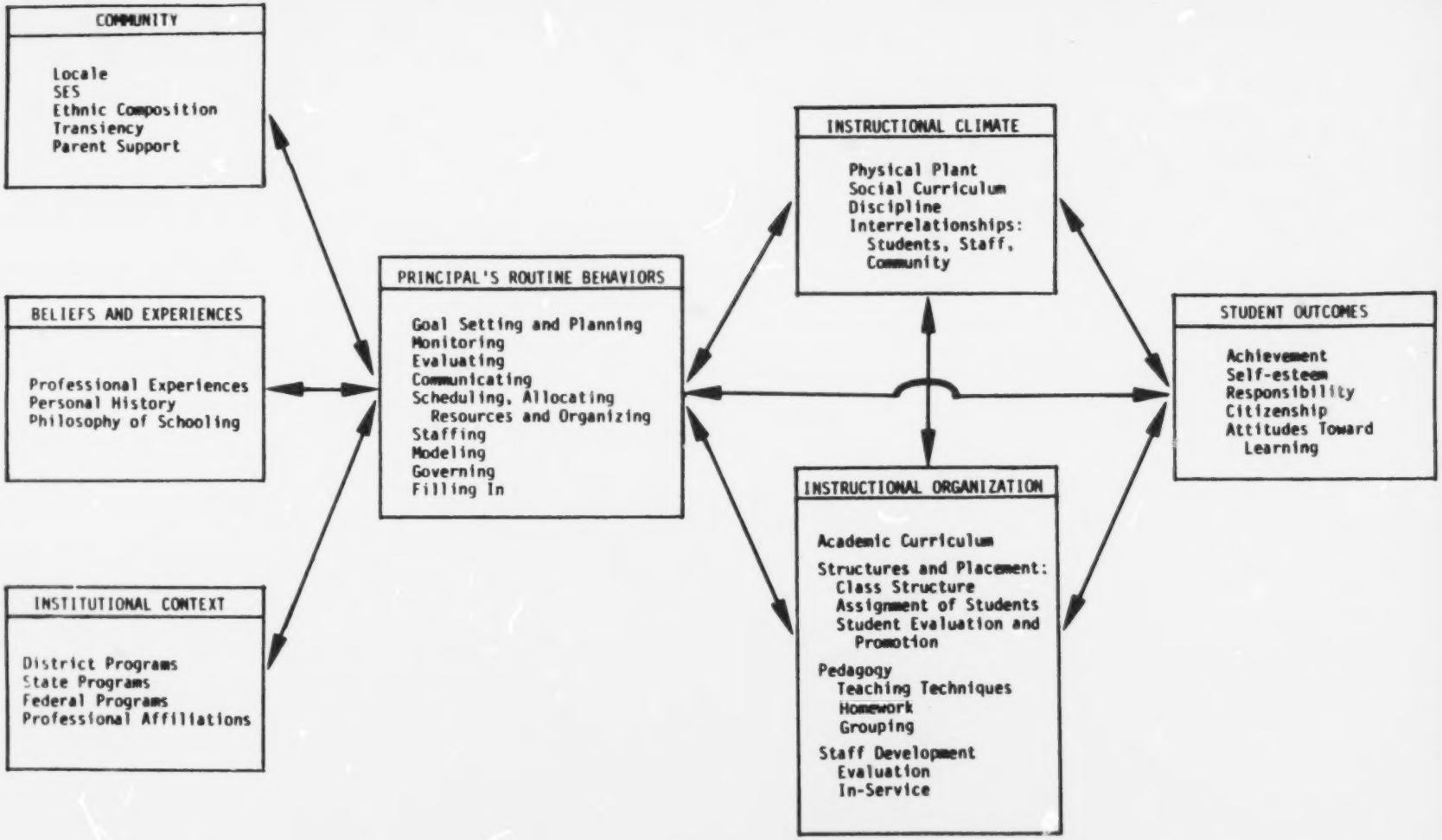

Figure 1: The Principal's Role in Instructional Management

Principals can understand and influence the varied elements of their organizations through the performance of routine activities. Their success hinges on their ability to connect their actions to an overarching perspective of their school settings and their aspirations for students.

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4. Grace Lancaster, Principal of an Urban Junior High School;

5. Jonathan Rolf, Principal of a Suburban Elementary School;

6. Florence Barnhart, Principal of an Inner-City Junior High School;

7. Louis Wilkens, Principal of a Suburban Elementary School.

These principals were chosen because of their outstanding reputations and their willingness and their staffs' willingness to work for a year under the close scrutiny of our field workers. We were able to learn about instructional leadership and management from each of them, although their contributions to instruction differed markedly. Some were directly involved with setting the conditions of instruction--that is, working with their staffs to define and coordinate the what, when, where, and how of instruction. The contributions of others were more circuitous or behind the scenes. From those principals, we were able to understand better how some principals can set the conditions for instruction, providing school environments that are supportive of teachers' work and students' learning.

It is important to note, however, that none of these principals is a superhero. Each man and woman made significant contributions in the context of his or her own school, but each carried the foibles and idiosyncrasies that in some form burden us all. Each struggled with the day-to-day realities of his or her own limitations--personal and contextual. The stories will elicit strong feelings within their readers about the relative merit of these principals' actions. Readers will compare one principal to another and, more importantly, to themselves. And therein lies the relevance of these studies.

These cases are not presented as models for others to emulate; on the contrary, they are intended to stimulate personal reflection and to illustrate several lessons that we learned from the hundreds of hours we spent with these men and women and from our own comparisons of their work:

1. **Successful principals act with purpose.** They have an image in mind of the "good" school and of a way to make their school more like that image. They use this overarching perspective as a guide for their actions.

2. **Successful principals have a multi-faceted image of schools.** They recognize that schools comprise many interrelated social and technical elements--from community concerns and district mandates to student/staff relations and instructional strategies. Successful principals stand at the vortex of these

sometimes competing elements, balancing and guiding their organizations toward their goals.

3. **Successful principals use routine behaviors to progress incrementally toward their goals.** Principals are busy people doing many things simultaneously. They design their routines to achieve their purposes. They work smarter, not harder.

4. **The IMP Framework, as it has evolved through the field work, illustrates these conclusions about successful principals.** This framework, shown in Figure 1, provides a useful heuristic device to help people understand the role of the principal.

5. **All principals engage in the same kinds of behavior.** The verbs listed in the "routine behaviors" box of Figure 1 were common to all the principals studied. Furthermore, these routine behaviors were used with similar frequency. Communication accounted for the largest proportion of each principal's actions.

6. **The form and function of principals' routine behaviors varies to suit their contexts and purposes.** Despite the similarity in the categories and frequency of principals' routine behaviors, the variation in their actions becomes apparent when principals are observed at work in their schools. The case studies illustrate this principle in detail, leading to the premise that there is no single image or simple formula for successful instructional leadership.

We believe that researchers, practicing principals, and educators planning futures in school administration will find these volumes provocative.

Although the cases portray seven unique stories, we have chosen to structure them along parallel lines to encourage readers to compare and contrast contextual antecedents, principals' actions, and consequences across them. Each will begin with an orientation to the setting, which describes the school, community, patrons, school staff, and principal. The introduction concludes with a narrative of a day in the life of the principal, enlivening the descriptive information about the school by illustrating how the principal deals with typical situations in his/her setting.

The second section of each study begins by delineating the social and academic goals held by the principal and staff in the school, then describes the elements of the instructional climate and instructional organization that have been created to accomplish those goals. Throughout this section, the role of the principal is underscored by the words of teachers and students from the setting, by the principal's own words, and by the observations of the field researcher assigned to the school.

The final section of each study analyzes the principal's activities, drawing information from the descriptive sections to build and support models that explain the direct and indirect strategies and actions employed by the principals to affect instruction in their schools.

One last note: We are aware of the long-standing debate about whether principals are best described as middle-level managers, coordinating people, materials, and time to meet their institutions' goals, or whether principals are best construed as leaders, wearing the lenses of their own experiences and values, sharing their visions of means and ends, and enlisting support to accomplish their goals. From our experiences with principals, we do not feel that the leader/manager distinction helps us better understand their work. We saw our principals act sometimes like leaders, sometimes like managers; many times, however, we could attribute either role to their actions. Reflecting the overlapping nature of these role distinctions in the day-to-day actions of principals, we use the words interchangeably throughout these studies.

Acknowledgements

There is a multitude of people to thank for their contributions to this extensive study. The principals, staffs, and students who freely gave their energy, graciously tolerated our presence, and patiently answered our questions over the period of a school year are first and foremost on this list. Our agreement to protect their anonymity, however, prevents us from listing these important contributors by name (all proper names used in the case studies are fictional). It is self-evident that the project would not have been possible without their goodwill and their sense of responsibility to our efforts.

Next, 11 research interns in three states spent over 1,500 hours in these schools. They trained and prepared for each phase of data-gathering, relentlessly applied each procedure, and performed the necessary and painstaking documentation procedures after each of their school visits and observations. All of the interns were graduate students who had to weave our program's research activities into their already crowded personal agendas. Alphabetically, they were: Bracha Rubinek Alpert, Steven Foster, Susan Goodwin, Albert Kuipers, Patricia Kunke, Maralee Mayberry, Barbara McEvoy, Gail Mladejovesky, Susana Munzell, Sherri Schulke, and John Wilson. The twelfth field researcher was Ginny Lee, a research associate of the Instructional Management Program, who wore multiple hats throughout the project, including site coordinator, writer/editor, and planning and training assistant.

An extremely competent secretarial staff, which included Sharon Hansen, Peter Grace, Ann Wallgren, Carrie Kojimoto, and Claudia Long, monitored and filed data, made sure that interns kept up with the necessary bureaucratic work, and transcribed--

painfully--a seemingly endless stream of interviews. The program would have floundered early on without their consistent support.

As the project's field phase was completed, several staff members took on new roles and additional staff joined the program to assist with the development of the computerized data base, analysis, writing, and/or final document preparation. Christine Baker, Jean Barker, Carrie Kojimoto, Claudia Long, Jeannie Lum, Barbara McEvoy, and Patricia Terry read and re-read hundreds of pages of data, assisted in the development of our tagging scheme, and entered text data into the computer system implemented by Patricia Terry. Bracha Rubinek Alpert, Jean Barker, Carrie Kojimoto, Claudia Long, Jeannie Lum, Barbara McEvoy, and Patricia Terry made invaluable contributions in the preliminary phases of the writing of the case studies. In the last critical phase, Jean Barker and Kenneth Warren wrote final copy and oversaw production of the eight-volume set.

My colleagues, Bruce Barnett, Steven Bossert, Nikola Filby, Ginny Lee, and Brian Rowan each contributed their expertise to the design and implementation of these studies. They, in conjunction with Carrie Kojimoto, assumed major analytical and writing tasks as our ambitions to fully utilize the rich data set grew and grew.

Lastly, the National Institute of Education funded this study during an era of tight resources, supported the program's efforts throughout, and helped create the visibility and professional networks that will ensure the use of this project's findings. Michael Cohen and Marianne Amarel were the project's monitors, and we especially thank them for understanding the utility of this kind of in-depth study and for supporting the project during every phase of its development.

David C. Dwyer
Project Director

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AN INTRODUCTION TO THE SETTING AND ITS ACTORS

An Overview

The first section of this study attempts to give the reader a general impression of Orchard Park Elementary School and its context. We believe that this narrative introduction is necessary if the reader is to understand fully the description and analysis of the instructional system presented in the subsequent sections of this study. The introduction itself begins with an account of the physical aspects of the school and the surrounding community. This account is followed by a description of the school's students and parents. Next, the general characteristics of the school's teachers are delineated. The focus then turns to the school's principal, telling in brief her history, her educational philosophy, and her thoughts about the role of a principal. Having shaded in these broader contours, we subsequently take the reader through a day in the life of the principal, recounting in as much detail as possible what she encountered during a typical day at school.

The School and Its Context

The year 1982 marked Orchard Park Elementary School's 35th year in the city of Hillsdale. Surrounding the school were rows of white, grey, pale green, and pastel yellow houses, whose neatly trimmed yards were, by late summer, straw-colored from lack of water. The neighborhood itself was quiet, but the noises from a nearby freeway attested to its urban setting.

The community's only distinctive landmark was an old church occupying a large corner lot adjacent to the school's. The church's high, white walls, grey slate roof, and three onion-shaped spires stood out vividly from the rows of modest homes. Rising above every other building, as it had for years, the stately church cast a sense of permanence over the entire community.

"Permanent," however, would be a somewhat misleading description of the area. Prior to 1960, White, middle-class families of Italian descent predominated in the neighborhood. Over the next few years, however, Orchard Park was included in citywide attempts to desegregate public schools. As a result, increasing numbers of ethnic minorities moved from the city's

poorer neighborhoods to places like Orchard Park (FN, 9/20/82, p. 9).* During this time, Orchard Park's community lost its homogeneity, and some of its quiet, as a number of racial conflicts marred the neighborhood's tranquility. The school was also affected, finding it necessary to adapt itself to the needs of the newer students. According to Frances Hedges, Orchard Park's principal, the change from a White, middle-class school to an ethnically mixed, lower middle-class one increased the percentage of students performing below the 50th percentile on the school's standardized achievement tests (TI, 9/7/82, p. 3).

By the mid-1970s, however, the movement of minority groups within Hillsdale had slowed, and the Orchard Park neighborhood had achieved a new cultural and ethnic balance. But all had not changed. A core group of residents had managed to weather the unrest and hard times, providing the continuity that, in the opinion of Frances Hedges, gave the neighborhood the "solid kind of structure" it exhibited in the early 1980s (TI, 9/7/82, p. 7).

Mirroring this solidity was the school building itself, which had been another constant in the community. Its uncomplicated, two-story design, light beige walls, and chocolate-brown trimmed windows harmonized with the homes in the neighborhood. Inlaid bricks surrounded the building's entrance and underscored the large sign above them which read simply, "Orchard Park."

In front of the school, dark green shrubbery and a long, narrow strip of grass broke the monotonous browns and greys of the building, the sidewalks, and the street. Behind the school, expansive playfields covered more than half of the grounds. These playfields included the "upper-level" and "lower-level" asphalt-covered yards, a basketball court, and a huge, grassy football field with bleachers. The upper-level yard was a restricted play area for the school's younger children in grades one through three; the lower-level yard provided space for the more rambunctious fourth, fifth, and sixth graders.

Adjacent to the rear of the school, the upper-level yard allowed teachers to supervise the activities of the smaller

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*Throughout these sections, the reader will encounter parenthetic notations describing the type of data cited, the date of collection, and the page number of the record from which the quotation was taken. The abbreviations used to identify the data types are: FN for field notes; SO for summary observations; TI for tape-recorded interviews; I for interviews that were not transcribed verbatim; IOI for Instructional Organization Instrument; SDI for School Description Instrument; SFI for School Features Inventory; and Doc. for documents that were produced within the broad instructional system in which each school was embedded. (For further explanation of these varied data, see the companion volume, Methodology.) For example, a quotation taken from an interview on October 8, 1982 would be followed by: (TI, 10/8/82, p. 34).

children and to participate in their games. A row of trailer-like vehicles, which provided temporary classroom space for several primary and special education classes, partially enclosed this area. These also served to separate the upper-level and lower-level yards, which were connected only by a narrow stairway. Basketball courts and a football field extended beyond the lower-level playground, separated from the latter by a chain link fence, and joined, once again, by a narrow flight of stairs. Low shrubs bordered the outermost edges of these fields which, because they were difficult to monitor, were usually declared off limits during recess periods.

The main office, teachers' lounge, auditorium, and primary-grade classrooms occupied the first floor of the school building. Immediately inside the front entrance stood two display cases: One exhibited several school trophies; the other displayed a sign that read, "Orchard Park Students Are Winners." Next to these, a door opened into the businesslike atmosphere of the main office.

Arranged in an orderly and functional fashion, the main office betrayed few signs of concern for decor. It lacked even plants to soften its appearance. Two grey metal filing cabinets stood against the back wall. Neat stacks of paper and standard black telephones sat atop the three desks behind the front counter. A calendar and a portrait of George Washington hung above one desk. Continuing this brief motif of patriotism, an American flag adorned the doorway leading into the principal's office. Another door led to a storage room for paper, notebooks, pens, pencils, and office machine supplies. Mailboxes and a small bulletin board covered the wall closest to the hall door (FN, 9/7/82, p. 3).

In the teachers' dining lounge, which was also called the "community room," a small stove, a refrigerator, and a few tables and chairs provided the only furnishings. Along the walls were wooden shelves and a bulletin board for messages. A hanging plant above the sink and a few colorful ceramic cups decorated the lounge, but because students sometimes used the lounge for special class projects, the teachers had added no more personal touches. To allow for these various needs, the area was always kept immaculate (FN, 9/7/82, p. 4).

Orchard Park's multipurpose room contained a storehouse of meticulously inventoried instructional materials. Floor-to-ceiling shelves filled with books, games, and colorful files made up three of its walls. The files were categorized and systematically marked with easily read codes, making all of the materials accessible to students and teachers. A long table surrounded by small chairs stood near the fourth wall, a corner of which was partitioned by a freestanding blackboard. Behind the blackboard was a recently acquired kiln, which the school had won as an award for reducing campus vandalism.

The school's auditorium, also on the first floor, included a stage, complete with curtains. Behind the stage were rooms for

music, speech, English as a Second Language (ESL), and bilingual program conferences. A door of the auditorium led outside to a nearby portable classroom used for teaching a special class of autistic children.

In a basement below the first floor was Orchard Park's cafeteria, which was in use during a large portion of the day. In the morning, about 100 children participated in the school's breakfast program (FN, 9/15/82, pp. 6-7). Then at midday, because the cafeteria was too small to seat all of the children simultaneously, lunch was served in two shifts. A small cafeteria services room off to one side of the lunchroom also pulled double-duty, providing an office for the school's resource specialist (FN, 9/7/82, p. 5).

On the second floor were the library, the reading lab, the teachers' resource room, and the upper-grade classrooms. The library was illuminated by the sunlight that poured through its large, wide windows. As with most libraries, this one was kept quiet and orderly, but a bright, red-lettered sign on top of a center row of shelves called for intellectual activity: "Put a little fun in your day!" it commanded, "Read a paperback."

Like the first-floor multipurpose room, the teachers' resource room on the second floor was packed with books, curriculum kits, games, construction paper, and materials for cutting and pasting. All of these had been purchased through federal Title I funds (FN, 9/7/82, p. 6). Again, as in the multipurpose room, work space was provided, and all of the materials were neatly organized and readily available.

The efficient organization of materials and the highly functional arrangement of furniture characteristic of the resource rooms and offices in Orchard Park did not extend to the school's classrooms. Instead, the personality and idiosyncrasies of each teacher created a unique atmosphere in each room. For example, a third-grade teacher who preferred a relaxed teaching style permitted students to move about freely in her elaborately decorated classroom (FN, 2/9/83, p. 2). Student artwork was suspended from ropes crisscrossing the ceiling. Japanese dolls sat on shelves in the corners. Pictures and photographs papered the walls. In contrast, a discipline-minded fourth-grade teacher required that his students remain seated during class. He arranged desks in rows so that he could lecture to the entire group at once (FN, 2/23/83, p. 2). The only major similarity in the classrooms was their abundant supply of instructional materials and audiovisual equipment (FN, 10/1/82, p. 8).

Also mitigating the impersonal atmosphere of the school's public spaces were the bulletin boards that brightened hallways throughout the building. Each displayed picturesque examples of student work, which were changed frequently to reflect themes from upcoming holidays, seasons, or special events. Many highlighted special class projects or, upon occasion, exhibited professionally prepared posters. One board read, "Fun at Orchard

Park," and presented a photographic collage of children playing in a park, wearing colorful costumes, and performing in stage plays. Another, entitled "Round Up a Resolution," sported such mottoes as "Be courteous, the world needs people who care"; "Be helpful, discover the joy of doing for others"; and "Be friendly, it's delightfully contagious." Still others announced, often in various languages, news about upcoming events (FN, 9/20/82, p. 2). These events played an important role in school/community relations. Citizens' groups, activists' groups, the community council, and others often expressed an interest in the school's activities. Hedges surmised that the positive image Orchard Park had established in the community was due chiefly to its extracurricular programs which involved students and parents alike (I, 9/7/82, pp. 7-8).

Orchard Park's Students and Parents

The student population at Orchard Park was characterized by a diversity of racial groups and ethnic backgrounds. District records showed that as many as 10 different language groups were represented in the school. A majority (59%) of the students were Black; 13% were Spanish-surnamed; 16% were Asian (Chinese, Filipino, Samoan, Laotian, and Vietnamese); and 11% were White. The remaining 1% comprised other ethnic groups (see Figure 2).

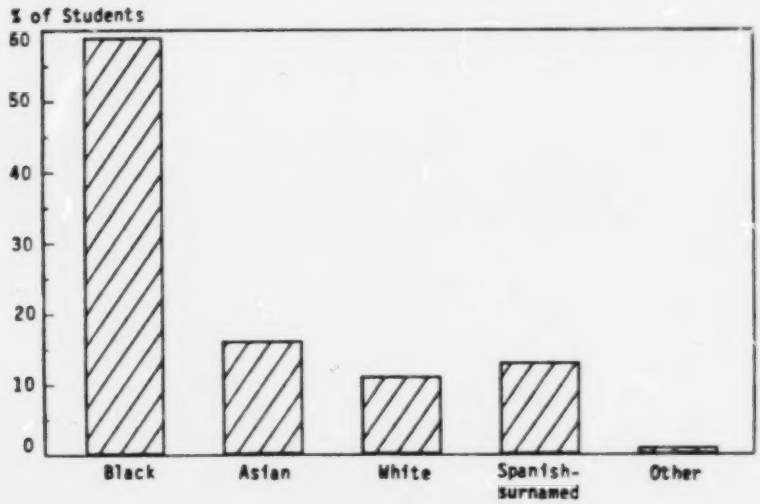

Figure 2: Student Ethnicity at Orchard Park

The majority of students' families were of low-income or lower middle-income status. Fifty-eight percent of the parents were unskilled workers; 26% were skilled or semiskilled; 6% were semiprofessional; and only 2% were professionals. The skill level of the remaining 8% was unknown (see Figure 3). Thirty-two percent of the families were eligible for Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC).

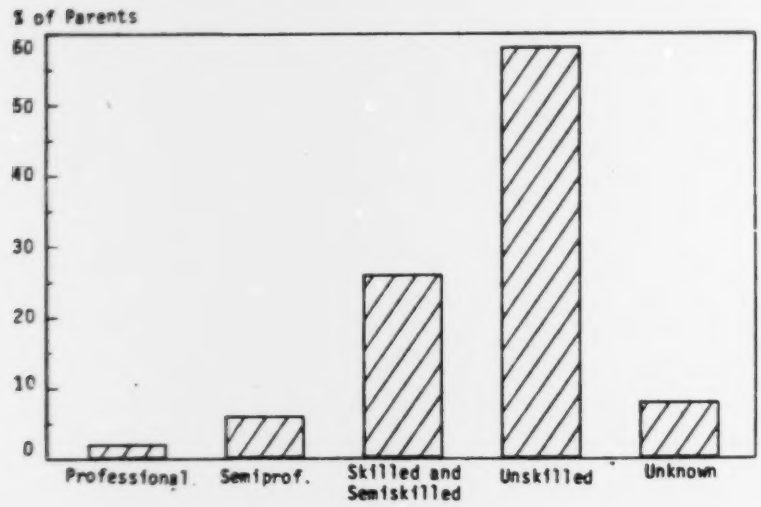

Figure 3: Employment Skill Level of Orchard Park's Parents

Orchard Park's students were energetic, active, and emotional, frequently exhibiting aggressive behavior on the playground. Yet, considering the wide range of ethnic backgrounds represented, the conflicts were surprisingly nonracial. In fact, student groupings during recess and in class were largely multiethnic (FN, 9/15/82, pp. 23-24; FN, 10/6/82, pp. 13-14). Moreover, student aggression did not translate into alienation from school authority figures. The children frequently sought approval, reinforcement, and warmth by reaching out to teachers for a smile, a touch of the hand, or a hug. The teachers' readiness to respond, often with embraces for the younger students, led the school librarian to comment that there were more positive teacher/student exchanges here than in the "hills" (upper middle-class) schools where she had taught before coming to Orchard Park (FN, 10/1/82, p. 9).

The ability to tolerate differences in students' backgrounds extended to the school's approach to special education. Its program was a strong one. Most special education students attended classes in the low-rise portable buildings, but they did intermingle with other students during the recess and lunch periods. On the whole, they seemed to be well accepted by the "mainstream" students (SO, 9/20/82, p. 12).

Orchard Park did, however, have some academic problems. Scores for Comprehensive Tests of Basic Skills (CTBS) from the spring of 1982 showed that the median scores for third-grade students were below national norms in reading, math, and language. For sixth graders, median scores exceeded national

norms in all reading, math, and language testing, except in the categories of language mechanics and total language average (Districtwide Testing Results, 9/10/82, p. 7). The high percentage of students performing below grade level was a cause for concern. In response, Hedges stressed reading skills at all grade levels as a way to improve all basic skills. The school had also operated a Title I program since 1976, the year that Hedges took office as principal (TI, 9/7/82, p. 3).

Hedges found the parents in the Orchard Park community very supportive of the school. They did not adopt a strong judgmental or critical attitude toward her decisions but accepted them on good faith (FN, 10/22/82, p. 10). At the same time, it was difficult to get them involved in more abstract educational activities. As Hedges explained:

> They're more supportive . . . when they're doing something that is directly related to their own child's educational development than they are to the broader sense of, let's say, working with the PTA or with the School Advisory Committee. I can usually get a small core of parents who will agree to serve as members of the School Advisory Committee, but it's a kind of nudging through the year to keep them on target or on task or attending the meetings. (TI, 9/7/82, pp. 3-6)

Hedges also pointed out that parents were much more responsive when asked to help on field trips or on special projects. Though they did not often volunteer to work or help in the classroom, they frequently participated in special activities. Limiting the parents' ability to be more supportive was the fact that many of the young parents not only worked but also attended school themselves. In the principal's words, they were "into upward mobility" (I, 9/7/82, p. 7).

Orchard Park's Staff

Orchard Park employed 25 teachers. The teaching staff was well balanced according to years of experience: Seven teachers had over 10 years of teaching experience and four had been employed 7-10 years. Another five had 4-6 years of experience, and nine had worked 1-3 years (see Figure 4 and IOI, 3/22/83, Part III). What was remarkable about this staff was its stability. At the time of this study, turnover occurred for only one reason--retirement (FN, 10/26/82, p. 8).

Five teachers had known Hedges before she became Orchard Park's principal. They followed her to the school, watching for openings and applying for jobs as they became available (I, 5/11/83, p. 1). These teachers expressed respect and admiration for Hedges and interacted frequently with her. She, in return, spoke favorably of them, complimenting those whom she identified as especially good at introducing new ideas and techniques into

their classroom teaching (FN, 1/28/83, p. 11; I, 2/1/83, pp. 14, 17). These teachers were among the most socially active of the staff members.

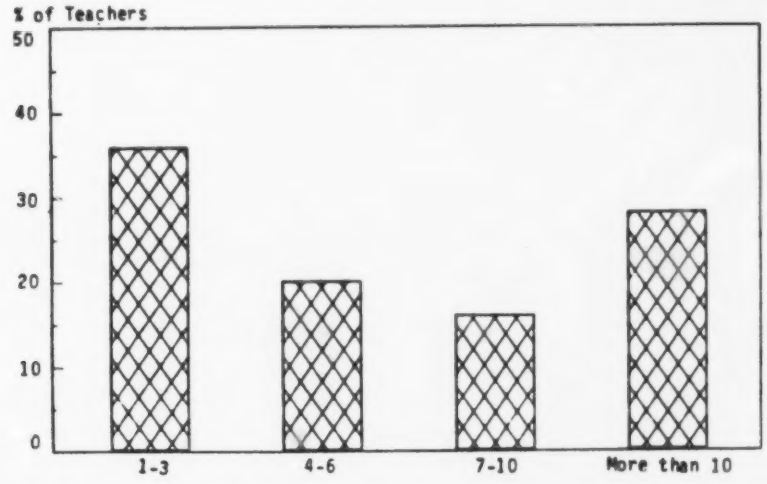

Figure 4: Years of Teaching Experience of Orchard Park Staff

Six teachers, however, went almost unnoticed at the school. They rarely came out of their classrooms during the recess periods, almost never sat in the teachers' lounge, and remained passive during teachers' meetings. This group of teachers appeared to comprise those whose teaching approach did not harmonize with Hedges's preference for a more open instructional style (SO, 3/16/83, p. 1; SO, 5/2/83, p. 1). Hedges herself admitted to being somewhat uncomfortable with the "unified teaching" approach of these staff members. In her opinion, these teachers did not work well with the kind of students at the school (I, 3/16/83, p. 14).

Generally speaking, however, the teachers at Orchard Park were very supportive of the school and particularly of the principal. There were few signs of negativism, criticism, or conflict among staff members or between staff members and the principal. In fact, on many occasions, the staff forgot its differences and acted as one. For example, they united in strong opposition to the district's intention to transfer Hedges at the end of the 1982-83 school year (SO, 5/25/83, p. 1). Similarly, they came together to hold a "Principal Appreciation" gathering in honor of her leadership.

The school also employed two full-time resource specialists, a half-time librarian, a half-time nurse's assistant, seven full-time teachers' aides, eight half-time aides, and two 1/6-time aides. A psychologist, a nurse, and a speech therapist were also on staff. Finally, there were five full-time, six half-time, and

one 2/3-time classified personnel (IOI, 3/22/83, Part III). The school's instructional aides maintained a relatively low profile. The one exception to this was the aide for the special education class, who organized many of the staff's social activities.

Orchard Park's Principal

Frances Hedges, a sixty-year-old Black woman, had been at Orchard Park for six and a half years. She conveyed a sense of elegance through her well-matched clothes, golden earrings, oversized glasses, and neatly fashioned white hair. Her overall appearance directly contrasted with the casual style of most of her staff members, easily identifying her as someone in a management position.

Before coming to Orchard Park, Hedges had attended a teachers college in her hometown, originally intending to become a child psychologist. But economic considerations prevented her from pursuing this goal. Instead, she spent 21 years as a classroom teacher, mostly in the Hillsdale School District, which included Orchard Park. After receiving her master's degree in Educational Administration, she gradually climbed to her present position by working as a reading resource teacher, a program coordinator, and a vice-principal. Relating her past interests to her professional career, she said:

> I used to always think I wanted to be a child psychologist, because I want[ed] to help children work through their problems and I do like that kind of interaction. (TI, 9/7/82, p. 2)

Although she had not fulfilled her original plan, Hedges did feel that things had worked out for her in a satisfying way. Being a teacher and then a principal had allowed her to "embrace children" (TI, 9/7/82, p. 2) by working with them to solve their day-to-day problems.

Correspondingly, Hedges's manner with staff members and students was personable. Whether discussing professional matters or just making small talk, Hedges conveyed warmth and friendliness through her smiles and laughter (FN, 9/10/82, p. 1; FN, 9/15/82, p. 11; FN, 10/6/82, p. 4; FN, 5/18/83, p. 6). She was very generous with compliments, praising teachers for their work (FN, 9/28/82, p. 2; FN, 5/20/83, p. 3); and congratulating students on how they entered the auditorium (FN, 9/28/82, p. 13), worked in class (FN, 10/18/82, p. 2), or performed in plays (FN, 5/20/83, p. 3). She also communicated nonverbally through touches, hugs, and embraces (FN, 9/15/82, pp. 13, 15; FN, 9/28/82, p. 7). As a result, teachers and students alike frequently referred to her as a "mother" figure (SO, 5/25/83, p. 3).

Frances Hedges spent a lot of her time with students, supervising their entrance into the building after a recess or at

the beginning of the day. She was often found on the playgrounds watching the children. As she explained:

> I usually remain pretty involved and pretty visible to the children. . . . I really like counseling and that's a heavy part of my day; I think I belong to the children and staff during the day. (I, 9/20/82, p. 25)

When Hedges was out on the playground, students approached her either to complain about something or just to chat. Some came around for a hug. In explaining her concern for, and availability to, the students, Hedges said:

> It's typically that they have a problem, and children want you to do something. If you don't do something, they feel as though . . . their problems are falling on deaf ears. I tell the staff all the time, "You really do have to take the time out, let a child explain what happened, and be willing to at least listen, whether it's what that particular child wants, or not--it's just that someone has listened. (I, 10/26/82, p. 14)

Whatever the incident or conflict, Hedges carefully sorted through the details before making any final judgments. She interrogated each participant in the situation and then took action (FN, 10/6/82, pp. 8, 12-15), justifying her approach in this way:

> I believe that if we are really going to change behavior of children, we can't just say, "Stop that, ah, don't do that," without going a step further and really having some kind of dialogue about what took place, why, and what are the options. (I, 10/7/82, p. 15)

A strict disciplinarian, though, Hedges did not hesitate to reprimand a child for misbehavior. She insisted on maintaining certain rules, such as the allocation of the playground areas to specific grade levels and the procedures for entering the school building. "We try to have order without regimentation," she said (I, 9/15/82, p. 9).

Another of Hedges's qualities was her knack for organization. Even though she disliked routine paperwork, she nonetheless paid close attention to details and took care not to neglect any issue that arose. This attention extended to human needs. She placed great stress on making the children "reasonably happy" in school and on improving their self-esteem. This philosophy she described as humanistic:

> I am a humanist, first of all, acutely sensitive to needs--children's needs as well as adult needs. (TI, 9/20/82, p. 31)

She added:

> Some people don't have the same feeling about the humanistic aspects of schools. Some teachers are, feel that they are, purely academic and that "my job is to teach the children and I don't have to get into that other area at all." My philosophy is that if we are warm and humane and nurturing, we maximize the learning of children. There is just no way to separate out those basic needs. They [teachers] don't separate them out in their [own] world . . . so I try to show them that, if as adults we have those needs, then our boys and girls have those human needs also . . . [and with] warmth and nurturing they'll just do better. (TI, 9/20/82, pp. 31-32)

In addition to her strong humanistic philosophy, Hedges believed in the importance of academic achievement, particularly in the importance of reading:

> Reading is by far our number one priority. I believe that [if] children don't know how to read they really cannot make it in this world. (I, 10/26/82, p. 3)

Hedges translated this belief into action by hiring and supporting the school's reading specialist, who worked closely with teachers to improve students' reading skills. When teachers complained that the specialist often placed children at too difficult a reading level, Hedges upheld the specialist's decisions because, in her opinion, teachers usually placed students at a "comfortable" reading level and did not do enough actual instruction (I, 10/20/82, p. 4).

Hedges's willingness to criticize and to take a "hands-on" approach was indicative of the vital role she played in all curriculum matters. Although she allowed her teachers a great deal of autonomy in choosing curriculum and instructional strategies, she did not hesitate to promote her own academic goals for Orchard Park's students and her beliefs about how these goals should be achieved. Many of these ends and means were incorporated into the school's three-year plan, the writing of which Hedges coordinated.

The principal's involvement was demonstrated in many ways. She worked to hire able teachers, placed them where they would be most effective, and encouraged them in their professional development. She assigned students to classrooms and monitored their progress by reviewing all report cards and by keeping in

contact with teachers and the reading specialist. She assisted in the textbook selection process, in one case arranging for Orchard Park to pilot social studies texts as a way to obtain more books (IOI, 3/22/83, Part I). On a day-to-day level, Hedges participated actively in teachers' "circuit meetings" to help plan curriculum, and she frequently "dropped in" on classrooms to observe teachers and students.

Although Hedges was occasionally critical of her teachers, she regarded most of her staff as "top quality" (FN, 9/15/82, p. 14). Despite her preferences, she was willing to accept variations in teaching styles: "I accept the differences, because I feel that a person really has to follow their own style" (I, 2/1/83, p. 20). Hedges's ability to make her preferences known while remaining tolerant and flexible was an important factor in her success as a strong instructional leader.

A Day in the Life of Frances Hedges

Principal Frances Hedges had developed a style of management that, in her opinion, brought to life her vision of what a school should be within the context of Orchard Park Elementary School and the Hillsdale community. Some of the salient features of that context were: a highly stable teaching staff, an ethnically diverse student population, a preponderance of low-income and lower middle-income families, and a high percentage of students performing below grade level as measured by the Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills (CTBS). This section presents a typical day for Hedges at Orchard Park as seen through the eyes of an observer who attempted to record only those incidents directly involving the principal. The "day" as it appears here is in reality a composite, made up of segments drawn from several different days. The incidents, however, are representative and create a vivid and accurate impression of life at Orchard Park. This close-up view describes Hedges's interactions with students, staff, and parents, and it also illustrates how political, demographic, and financial factors influenced the actions of Orchard Park's principal.

At eight o'clock one morning, Frances Hedges stood behind her desk looking through some notes and organizing the day's agenda. Neatly arranged stacks of paper covered the desk top, and on one corner rested a carved piece of wood with "Frances Hedges, Principal" etched in intricate Gothic lettering. Against one wall of Hedges's office, and flanked on either side by an arm chair, stood a small wooden table for refreshments. Coffee, tea, styrofoam cups, and a biscuit box were scattered atop the table. Above the table hung a bulletin board displaying artwork by Orchard Park students. Two plants, one on top of a file cabinet next to the window, the other hanging from a hook on the wall, completed the room's decor.

Ten minutes after the hour, Rita, the first-grade teacher, dropped by the principal's office to give Hedges a letter she had prepared for the parents. "How are you this morning?" Hedges

greeted her. As Hedges looked over the letter, Rita, an energetic, friendly woman in her mid 60s, touched the principal's light blue jacket and commented, "Isn't this nice?" Hedges smiled. She then returned the paper to Rita, saying of it, "It's beautiful."

Hedges left the office at 8:30 to check the breakfast program in the cafeteria. She usually looked in each morning to see that all was going well. The cafeteria was decorated by a student mural depicting bright flowers and butterflies under billowy white clouds. The mural offered a welcome contrast to the otherwise pale pink walls. As Hedges walked along the rows of tables, she noticed that several trays had been left by students. She asked a boy seated nearby if he knew who had been using them, but he shrugged his shoulders. She then asked another boy to carry the trays to the disposal cart, but when she realized that he was just getting ready to eat his breakfast, she decided to do it herself. As she picked up the trays, she reminded the other students that trays were not to be left on the table, and she requested that they tell this to the guilty parties.

On her way back to the office, Hedges stopped by the reading lab to speak with the reading specialist, May Ashford. They discussed attending a reading association's annual conference. Ashford regularly attended the conference to examine new materials and to participate in workshops. This year, Hedges, after a four-year hiatus, also wanted to go. She told Ashford, however, that financing the trip might be a problem. She had read in a school district publication that all conference travel for certified staff had been suspended. She then went on to assure Ashford that she would look for other sources to defray their travel expenses.

The morning bell rang at nine o'clock. Hedges stood in the hallway and watched as the children entered the building. Most students went to class in an orderly fashion, but several attempted to enter the building from a side entrance. Hedges stopped them and told them to go to the main entrance. Next, a boy sprinted through the hallway shouting at the top of his voice until Hedges intercepted him and gave him a stern warning: "You better start the day on the right foot!" Despite incidents like these, however, hallway supervision for Hedges was not always police work. For example, after reprimanding the boy, Hedges greeted a small girl who said to her, "Mrs. Hedges, these are my new clothes." Hedges smiled warmly at the girl and said, "Oh, you look so nice today."

Five minutes later, Hedges was still in the hall, telling the remaining students to get to their classrooms. When the hallway was clear, she returned to her office to continue working on a plan to place two students who had been identified as having low self-esteem in a positive leadership role. Hedges decided to make the two boys, Lafayette and Jimmy, captains of a "chair crew" that would prepare the auditorium for assemblies. She called the boys into her office and, with a serious face,

explained the job they had been selected to undertake. One team was responsible for setting up chairs in the auditorium and the other team for putting the chairs away. "You have a full-time job for the whole year and it's up to you to make sure that things are orderly," Hedges said. After mentioning several students as possible team members, the principal said, "I wanted to give you guys the opportunity to select who you want. You don't have to discriminate in sex, so if you want, you can pick girls." Jimmy nodded his head.

Hedges and the two boys then walked to the auditorium where she described how the chairs were to be arranged for an assembly. Lafayette confessed that when he was told that the principal wanted to see him in her office, he thought he was in trouble again. Hedges smiled and said that when she calls someone, it doesn't always mean trouble. When Hedges walked away, the two boys smiled and leaped into the air to celebrate their new positions. Then they shook each other's hands to congratulate themselves.

When Hedges returned to her office at 9:20, she found Penny Davis, the teacher for the Gifted and Talented Program (GATE), waiting in the main office with two boys. "We have a little situation here," Davis said to Hedges. Milton and Tommy had had several chances to turn in their written assignments, but both had come to school this morning without their work. Davis wanted them to go home now to get their assignments. Milton began crying. Hedges asked him why he had not brought his homework to school. "Have you even done the assignment at all?" she questioned him. Milton claimed that he had done the work but "didn't have a chance to get it." He also admitted that the "work got very difficult." Hedges responded, "I know this is a high-pressure class. You are a good student, but maybe we should make a class change. I know you are a good student and I have high expectations of you."

Hedges then turned to the other boy, Tommy, who said that he had forgotten to bring the assignment from home. Hedges asked whether his mother was at home. "Yes," he answered. Hedges explained to the teacher that Tommy's mother was recuperating at home from a job-related injury and had been going through a difficult time. The principal told the boys she would give them a yellow pass to go home. She also told Milton that she planned to call his mother to discuss whether he should stay in the GATE class. The boys left the office with Mrs. Davis.

The principal stepped out at 9:50 to invite Bridget, a fourth-grade student who had been waiting to speak to her, into her office. "I understand that something happened with Ray and a jacket," Hedges said. Bridget claimed she knew nothing about the jacket, so Hedges suggested that they walk to Mrs. Durant's classroom because "I don't want to have the wrong person." When they arrived at the classroom, however, Mrs. Durant told Hedges that Ray, the student whom they should talk with, had gone to the

main office. Hedges and Bridget went to find him. Then all three returned to Hedges's office to discuss the incident.

Hedges invited Bridget and Ray to take a seat, and then she asked them what had happened. Ray charged that Bridget had ripped his jacket, but Bridget continued to deny her guilt. She said that her friend, Alicia, could verify her story. Hedges rose from her desk and called Alicia's teacher on the intercom. "I hate interrupting a class, but can you send in Alicia?" she said. While they waited for Alicia, Ray showed the principal the rip in his jacket. As they examined the jacket, Bridget admitted that she did pull the jacket but did not tear it. Hedges lowered the jacket and looked directly at Bridget. Then in a low, calm voice, she told her that "sometimes you rip something without intending" and asked her why she had initially denied doing anything. At that moment, however, Alicia arrived, and Hedges asked her a few questions about the incident. She then looked again at the jacket and explained to Ray that it shouldn't be difficult to mend because it was torn at the seam. Finally, she turned to Bridget and asked her to apologize to Ray. As Bridget apologized, Hedges made out a pass for each of the students. She told them that she had marked the time they were leaving the office on each pass.

At 10:30, Hedges met with Mrs. Hendricks, the mother of one of the boys who had forgotten their homework. She wanted to discuss whether or not Milton should stay in the GATE class. Hedges explained what had happened earlier that morning. "He got a little tearful. He is a good student, but I wonder if the GATE class is not too pressing for him." Hedges asked Mrs. Hendricks how she felt about Milton's placement. Mrs. Hendricks answered that her son "just got lazy about his work." She added that she wasn't able to find his homework because his room was messy. Hedges said, "That makes me wonder if he should stay in the class. He'll make poor grades if he stays in the class. He is not at the top of the class, but he'll be at the bottom if he doesn't do his work."

Hedges and Mrs. Hendricks went to the GATE classroom and met with the teacher, Penny Davis, who called Milton to the door. When Hedges asked Milton where his assignment was, he answered that it was on his dresser. Milton's mother suggested that Milton could pick up his homework after lunch. Hedges agreed and said she would give him a pass. Davis then told Mrs. Hendricks that she would like to make an appointment with her to discuss Milton's future in the class.

At 11 o'clock, Hedges returned to her office and began doing some paperwork. She had been working about 20 minutes when five excited boys burst into the main office and stood behind the counter. One of the boys was in tears and could hardly talk. Hedges came out of her office and, in a grandmotherly fashion, hugged the crying boy, who struggled to hold back his tears. She turned to the other boys and said firmly, "Now, next time I want to see only one person, not five. All right." She then bent

down to the little boy and asked him what had happened. Apparently, someone had thrown milk on him in the cafeteria. "All right," Hedges said softly, "I'll go down now with you." Giving him some tissues to wipe his face, and holding him by the arm, she walked down to the cafeteria.

The loud voices of the children from the first lunch shift could be heard in the hallway outside the cafeteria. Inside, children with yellow, red, and green plastic trays waited in the serving line, which was staffed by three women. The students who had already passed through the serving line sat at the long, rectangular tables, eating corn dogs and french fries, and sipping milk through little straws. Hedges helped the little boy she had accompanied to get his lunch and to find a seat at one of the tables. Then she stood near a window to observe the students. She noticed some pieces of aluminum foil, plastic forks, and napkins on the floor and asked a boy to help her pick them up. She addressed him as "honey," and she thanked him for helping her when they had finished. She then noticed another boy leaving his tray on the table and called him back to put it on the disposal cart. As she walked around the tables, students greeted her. "How are you today, Brian?" she said to one boy, and then she told him he had ketchup on his mouth.

At 12:30 p.m., Hedges went out to the playground to make sure that the yard duty schedule was being followed. Seeing one boy pushing another, she called, "Come here, young man! I don't ever want to see you do that again." She then continued to patrol the fields and gestured at some students who were playing in an off-limit area to make them come back. Some other children were playing on the stadium seats in front of the football field; Hedges waved her hands and called to them to come down. When they did not acknowledge her, she used the whistle that hung around her neck to get their attention.

When the bell rang at one o'clock, Hedges watched to make sure the students returned to their classes in an orderly manner. When they had gone inside, she dropped by a classroom to check on a new substitute who would be filling in for the regular teacher during the next month.

The substitute had divided the class into two groups: One group worked on its own, and the other sat in a circle with the teacher, reading out loud. Hedges found a chair next to a boy who was reading to the group and when he finished, she said, "You sounded very well." The teacher questioned the students about the story and then gave them a workbook assignment before turning her attention to the other group.

While the teacher instructed the other group, Hedges helped a girl on her workbook assignment and observed the teacher. Before the bell rang for dismissal at 1:40, Hedges addressed the class: "Boys and girls, I'm so glad to see you work so nicely." She told them she was not sure when their regular teacher would return, but she was glad to see them working well with the new

teacher. She concluded with, "I have a lot of high expectations of this group of boys and girls." As the students left for recess, Hedges spoke briefly with the substitute. After complimenting the teacher, Hedges suggested assigning the students some exercises in the composition books that she was going to get for the class. She also told the teacher she would bring in May Ashford, the reading specialist, to spend some time with the teacher and help her set up some reading centers in the room. "I'll be coming in and out, but don't worry," assured Hedges. "I just want to see where I can help."

Hedges went to the supply room to pick up the composition books for the substitute. She stopped by the reading lab to tell Ashford that she would like her to go and assist the substitute, adding, "I made the entree for you. I told her you'll help to get her reading organized because it's the number one priority in the school."

In the hallway on her way back to the substitute's class, Hedges noticed a number of boys and girls playing in the corridor. Hedges pointed them to their destination and reminded them to follow the school rules.

At two o'clock, the principal stopped by the library to help the new assistant librarian prepare for a group of students from the second-grade class. She told the assistant about some people in the school district whom she could ask for ideas. She also suggested that the librarian consult May Ashford in the reading lab. "You operate with a different class every period and this requires a lot of effort. I'll help as much as I can," Hedges offered.

At 2:15, the principal met with Mark Thompson from the district office. Thompson assisted teachers with CTBS testing. The two discussed test scores and the problems students seemed to have in their approach to certain questions. Hedges then brought up the district math program; she said she preferred that teachers emphasize problem solving. She proposed that teachers start off by having children solve realistic, day-to-day math problems and then move the students on to computation skills and math drills. The principal also asked Thompson what he thought about the math centers that the teachers planned to set up in the auditorium about four times during the year. She wanted to know if he could help out. "Sounds good," he responded. "Sure."

The meeting ended at three o'clock, and five minutes later, the dismissal bell rang. Standing in the hallway, Hedges watched the children leave the building. She waved and smiled at some of them. Then returning to her office, she reviewed enrollment figures with the secretary. When they had finished, she placed the enrollment report in a brown envelope, picked up her purse and jacket, and left to deliver the report to the district office. Because she had no meetings scheduled for the evening,

her trip to the district office was Hedges's final official duty of the day, and after leaving the district office, she headed for home.

Summary

Orchard Park Elementary School served a diverse student population in the city of Hillsdale. Although the school's rather barren public spaces might have suggested to the observer that its teachers took a uniform approach to educating their students, the case was otherwise. The staff was very stable and exhibited a variety of teaching styles, including traditional and "open" methods. Whatever their preferences, teachers had the support of their principal, Frances Hedges, who, despite her own biases, allowed staff members to exercise their judgment in making pedagogical decisions. Hedges, however, had put her own stamp as an instructional leader on the school. In particular, she had emphasized reading instruction in response to low CTBS scores at some grade levels. She had also adopted a warm, personable style to which students reacted in a positive way. Following Hedges's lead, Orchard Park's teachers related very well to the school's diverse student population. And despite some personal differences, they gave Hedges a great deal of support.

THE PRINCIPAL AND THE INSTRUCTIONAL SYSTEM OF THE SCHOOL

In the previous section, we introduced the reader to the school's setting, staff, and clients. We also attempted to bring our descriptions to life by allowing the reader to walk the halls with the principal, observing events as he or she experienced them. In this second portion of our study, we describe various elements of the school's instructional system, and we recount the manner in which the principal's activities influenced, or failed to influence, each aspect. Again, our purpose is to reveal the role of the principal in the complex task of managing instruction at the building level.

The array of elements that we describe as parts of the instructional system may surprise some readers, for we envision the instructional process as involving much more than didactic interactions between teacher and student. The technical and social aspects of instruction are created, to a great extent, by teachers and students in classrooms, but instructional processes are affected directly and indirectly by social and organizational features of the school itself. The school, in turn, is affected by its larger context. For example, opportunities and constraints for participants in schools derive from state and federal regulations, districtwide programs and policies, as well as from circumstances imposed by the communities within which schools reside. In addition, each participant in the schooling process brings to a building or classroom his or her own history of experiences and his or her beliefs. These personal and idiosyncratic elements of school organizations also greatly influence the nature of instruction and student experience (Dwyer, 1984). In the first section of this study, we illustrated how these factors interweave to form the context in which we view principals' behaviors and the consequences of those behaviors.

But to describe completely--or even satisfactorily--the complex blend of individuals and contexts that make up a school, we must, in some rational fashion, untangle policies, programs, individual proclivities, services, operating procedures, and even building designs. In order to accomplish this analysis, we must make distinctions, slicing organizational wholes into arbitrary and discrete pieces. The problem with any such dissection, however, is the artificial creation of categories. In the day-to-day events in the schools of our studies, no such distinctions occur; boundaries blur through multitudes of interactions and

interactional effects. Nor can our "surgery" be guided by previous work. Prior research has failed to set forth a single, generalizable model of schools--the successes of the extant models are hinged to the specific purposes of the authors' analyses (e.g., Charters & Jones, 1973; Dunkin & Biddle, 1974; Gowin, 1981; Metz, 1978; Smith & Geoffrey, 1968).

Our strategy in facing this problem is twofold. First, whenever possible, we have allowed our incisions to be guided by the practical sense of the principals and teachers with whom we worked, using those categories mentioned frequently by them or used by them in planning. Secondly, in order to illustrate the permeability of our categories, we have taken every opportunity to describe how the different parts of our model affect one another. The unavoidable consequence of this latter tactic is some redundancy. We hope the reader will be understanding and patient.

This section, then, begins with a description of the overall goals of the school and proceeds to an examination of the social or climatic factors supporting or interfering with realization of those goals. It also describes the technical or organizational aspects of instruction at the school that either harmonize or clash with those goals.

Orchard Park's Social and Academic Goals

John Dewey (1916) asserted that as a society advances, the need for formalized education increases. Knowledge grows exponentially, its accruing bulk rapidly outpacing any single individual's capacity or opportunity to gather it all firsthand. Schools, in response, are appointed to pass on the experiences, achievements, and values of a society and to prepare individuals to contribute to the advancement of knowledge. As a result, children, through schooling, come to link the past to the future. Schools also serve a custodial purpose. Children constructively occupied as learners permit their parents the freedom to earn a living and secure a home. This multitude of purposes and responsibilities often finds expression through the social and academic goals that principals and teachers set for their students.

The staff at Orchard Park Elementary School shared a consensus about the purpose of schooling; each member hoped to enable his or her students to lead a productive and successful life. The staff also shared an understanding that they had to help children mature both socially and academically in order to accomplish their overall purpose.

No member of the staff was more definite about his or her goals than Frances Hedges. In our first interview with her, she said:

> I have very altruistic feelings that we want [students] to be happy. People are happy when

> they are knowledgeable and when they feel good about themselves and are able to fulfill some goals in their lives. (TI, 9/7/82, p. 4)

Much of the leadership that we attribute to Hedges's activities stemmed from the manner in which she organized programs, suggested materials and methods to teachers, and provided opportunities for teachers to develop new skills--all in accordance with her fundamental beliefs about the nature and importance of education. Much of the consensus of purpose that we found at Orchard Park, then, seems to have spread from Frances Hedges. Through observation and interview, we found that she was able to affect both the social and academic goals held by her staff.

Social Goals: Hedges's primary concern was for the emotional and social development of students. She believed that students should gain more than academic knowledge at school; she held that schools should instill a love for learning and should foster an attitude of social responsibility in all students. Schools, she believed, should be organized to help children build the foundations necessary for successful and happy lives. She stated her social goals in this way:

> I would hope that we really instill the joy of learning. . . . I really want to see children wanting to learn, just for the sake of learning.
>
> I think there is an overriding feeling that . . . preparation for adulthood and assuming responsibility in the community [are important]. I talk to the children a lot about what . . . they are going to contribute [to society] as they think about their own goals. (TI, 9/7/82, p. 4)

In addition, Hedges was adamant about the importance of helping children develop strong self-concepts. Indirectly, Hedges modeled this value in each and every interaction she had with children; even strongly worded admonitions to children would frequently conclude with a hug (FN, 9/15/82, pp. 9, 20; FN, 10/6/82, pp. 2, 4, 7). In an uncharacteristically direct action, Hedges presented a series of curricula to build self-esteem to her staff at the first meeting of the year and told them that they must integrate some of those activities into each week's schedule. Further, she said that she would monitor them to make sure that they complied with this directive (FN, 9/10/82, pp. 3, 10). Although this was accomplished in a considerate manner, her message was very clear.

Teachers frequently discussed these same social goals in similar terms. They shared with Hedges a desire to provide "the best for children" (TI, 4/27/83, p. 5), to consider "the whole child" (TI, 5/11/83, p. 5), and "to make [each] person the best

person they could be in the classroom and outside the classroom" (TI, 5/18/83, p. 8). One teacher summarized her beliefs and recognized how closely they aligned with Hedges's:

> I think [Hedges] believes kind of like I do. You take a child where they are and you go as far as you can with them to reach their full potential. (TI, 5/20/83, p. 7)

We also heard teachers argue for the importance of helping children develop a sense of social responsibility--again, one of Hedges's major themes. Teachers talked about wanting students to become "independent workers" (TI, 2/15/83, p. 2), to establish "good work habits" (TI, 5/16/83, p. 1; TI, 5/25/83, p. 9), to develop "good citizenship" (TI, 5/16/83, p. 1; TI, 5/25/83, pp. 1-2), to be responsible for "getting their homework in" (TI, 5/25/83, p. 2), and to become more "cooperative with other students" (TI, 5/25/83, pp. 1-2, 9). One teacher summarized the importance of these social goals as follows:

> One important part of learning [is] how to get along with each other from the very beginning and learning good study habits. . . . You want them to come out liking school. (TI, 5/25/83, p. 1)

As we indicated, the similarities between what Hedges believed and what guided much of her staff's activities with children were not accidental. Early in our association with Frances Hedges, she tipped the observer to the manner in which she most often influenced her staff:

> I think I've used modeling as one of the major ways [I communicate], along with just sharing and talking informally to staff and introducing [them to] ideas and materials. (TI, 9/7/82, p. 13)

The sections that follow these introductions to the social and academic goals at Orchard Park will illustrate just how accurate Hedges was in this statement. Again and again, we will note the manner in which she promoted, clarified, reinforced, and modeled the social goals she held so strongly.

Academic Goals: Hedges's concerns for the academic growth of her students were intertwined with her beliefs about the importance of social development. Whenever she talked about the academic needs of children, it was always from a "whole child" perspective. Delineating her academic goals, she said:

> We work very hard to try to make sure that in the six or seven years that boys and girls are in elementary school, that they leave this school operating at grade level or above. . . . I'd like to see them at grade level for at

> least their last two years so that they can go into junior high school as much stronger and more confident child[ren]. (TI, 9/7/82, p. 13)

Her concern for grade-level achievement was echoed by her staff as they described the goals they held for children. One teacher explained:

> I hope to have my children achieve and master the goals that [the school district] has set for this grade level. I hope that I can at least expose those children that have a difficult time learning, expose them to all areas that are expected. (TI, 5/9/83, p. 1)

As we will describe in greater detail later, one way in which Hedges strongly influenced the academic goals her staff held for their students was in the formulation of the district-mandated "three-year plan" (SO, 5/18/83, p. 1). This comprehensive plan for instruction at Orchard Park incorporated goals and objectives, content, and instructional processes for both the regular classroom curricular areas and special programs such as English as a Second Language (ESL) and Title I services. During the articulation of this document, Hedges promoted many of the ideas and goals that she felt were important for students' academic progress, and she encouraged and reinforced teachers for their contributions to the overall process (FN, 5/18/83, p. 3; FN, 5/20/83, p. 1).

The most important academic goal Hedges held, however, was teaching children to read. Undoubtedly, her experience as a reading resource teacher helped to account for her decision to give priority to reading instruction at Orchard Park (TI, 9/7/82, p. 1). She stated this priority in our first conversation with her:

> My greatest priority is very definitely with reading. I think if children do not know how to read, that's just a handicap that's with them forever. They must know how to read in order to have an education. (TI, 9/7/82, p. 13)

Hedges made this emphasis very clear to her staff. She had hired a reading specialist who was assigned a preeminent position in the teaching hierarchy at Orchard Park. This specialist's program served to coordinate the instruction of reading within classrooms and provided remediation for students with special problems. Particularly visible evidence of this specialist's influence were the many "reading centers" created in classrooms throughout the school (FN, 10/18/82, pp. 3-4; TI, 2/15/83, p. 13; TI, 5/25/83, p. 10).

In addition to supporting the reading specialist's efforts, Hedges monitored reading instruction by regularly observing and critiqueing classroom teachers' reading lessons. She examined the materials teachers used and reinforced those aspects that she thought were important (FN, 10/18/82, p. 8; FN, 1/28/83, p. 14). She also encouraged the librarian to teach reading skills as well as literature in her program. And Hedges considered reading to be a key to the instruction of students with limited English-speaking skills--again, providing encouragement and advice to the teacher in charge of that program. All of these activities served to communicate to Hedges's staff the fundamental importance she assigned to reading.

Other academic goals held by the Orchard Park staff were reflected in the early introduction of cursive writing and multiplication into the schoolwide curriculum (TI, 4/28/83, p. 1; TI, 5/18/83, p. 1). In addition, academic experiences were enhanced through experiential forms of instruction which included everything from the use of manipulative materials in math classes to outdoor camping trips, plays, and field trips (TI, 5/18/83, p. 8; TI, 5/20/83, p. 7).

Summary: Hedges and her staff believed strongly that the educational process should prepare children to lead successful and happy lives. They shared similar views about the importance of both social and academic goals. Hedges's strong beliefs in both areas influenced her staff. She assigned priority to helping children build self-esteem and a sense of social responsibility. These social goals intertwined with her intent to help children achieve at grade level, particularly in reading, so that they would perceive themselves as capable learners who could find joy and reward in their futures as students.

The following sections describe how the principal and staff of Orchard Park Elementary School strove to implement their goals, working to create a productive instructional climate and instructional organization. In previous work, we identified climate and instructional organization as avenues along which principals could work to shape and improve their schools (Bossert et al., 1982). During our collaborative field work with principals, we continued to find these two concepts helpful in organizing the multitude of events, processes, and structures that we encountered in schools. Our definitions, however, changed to accommodate our expanding experiences. Again, the importance of these two concepts to our study of the instructional management role of principals is that they illuminate many of the strategies employed by our principals to accomplish the goals they established for their schools.

Orchard Park's Instructional Climate

In our study, we treat school climate (a notion embraced by all of our participating principals) as an observable and changeable characteristic of schools. For our principals, climate encompassed both physical and social elements. Changing

a school's climate could mean anything from painting walls to organizing the way students lined up at recess. The comprehensiveness of the concept can be grasped from one principal's comment: "School climate starts at the curb." In general, our principals perceived climate as a diverse set of properties that would communicate to students that schools are pleasant but serious work places designed to help students achieve. In the following account of Orchard Park's instructional climate we will describe: a) the physical aspects of the school plant that promote or hinder the accomplishment of social and academic goals at the school; b) the social curriculum--activities designed to promote positive relationships within the school, student self-esteem, and productive attitudes toward learning; c) the school's discipline program; and d) the nature of the interrelationships among all members of the Orchard Park learning community.

Physical Components: The physical structure of Orchard Park's building and grounds determined several of the rules aimed at maintaining safety and order. Because the school had no space inside the building where students could congregate before and between classes, students were required to remain outside until the bell rang. This rule helped protect the facility from damage and enabled teachers to work quietly in their classrooms during recess or before school began (FN, 9/15/82, p. 9; FN, 10/6/82, p. 2). Students were, however, allowed to play in the auditorium on rainy days (FN, 5/4/83, pp. 1, 4).

This first rule led to another: Since students came into the building at the same time, various classrooms were assigned particular entrances to prevent congestion. The school had three major entry ways, one in front of the building and two from the playgrounds; students were allowed to enter the building only through their designated entrances. Hedges often stood in front of the main stairway, where she had a good view of two entrances, and reminded students which door to use. She said this rule helped "to keep the traffic flow organized" (FN, 9/15/82, p. 9). When they were not accompanied by a teacher, students were also required to enter the cafeteria from the playground entrance and not from the inside of the building (FN, 9/15/82, p. 6; FN, 10/18/82, p. 13).

Various rules dictated use of the building's facilities for play. The upper-level playground was reserved for students through third grade, while the lower-level yard, including the large grassy football field, was used only by fourth through sixth graders. Hedges had selected the top of the stairway that connected the two yards as a favorite perch during lunch break because from there she could see both areas clearly (FN, 3/15/83, p. 5). She did not hesitate to remind violators to return to their designated playground (FN, 9/15/82, p. 6).

Certain areas of the grounds were off limits to students. One of these was the shrubbery-covered end of the vast football field; at an assembly early in the school year, Hedges explained

to students that they were not allowed into this area because they might destroy the shrubbery, they would not be visible to supervisors, and they might be accosted by passersby (FN, 9/28/82, p. 10). The bleachers along the grass field were also off limits. Hedges was often observed monitoring these areas to make sure students did not play where they were not allowed (FN, 9/15/82, p. 22; FN, 10/18/82, p. 15).

The building was generally kept clean, and Hedges modeled appropriate behavior for students regarding care of the building. She was often observed picking up pieces of paper from the floor, commenting to students that this was something they should do (FN, 10/22/82, p. 7; FN, 1/28/83, p. 18; FN, 5/4/83, p. 3), or collecting empty trays in the cafeteria and putting them where they belonged (FN, 9/15/82, pp. 7, 21; FN, 10/18/82, p. 13). At the assembly mentioned above, Hedges emphasized the importance of cleanliness, saying, "This place belongs to each of you. . . . If you drop papers on the floor, what do you do at home?" When the children responded in chorus, "Pick it up," she asked, "Why were the sandwich papers thrown all over the cafeteria yesterday?" She added that she didn't expect students to clean up spilled milk because anyone could have an accident (FN, 9/28/82, p. 9).

The school building seemed to be relatively well maintained, and there were few signs of damage to the building or equipment. This was due in part to Hedges's leadership: She used every opportunity to urge students to take care of school property and prevent vandalism. At the assembly, Hedges told students, "If you see somebody destroying, please alert him. Let's work hard to take care of this place," and added, "Pass the word, there are plenty of good things you can do on the grounds and still have fun." She also asked students to keep the new math books nice and clean and not to lose the library books (FN, 9/28/82, pp. 10-11). Orchard Park had recently won an award for reducing vandalism after a schoolwide effort. At the students' request, a kiln had been purchased with the award money (FN, 9/7/82, p. 4).

Another factor that contributed to the good condition of the building was the "preventative maintenance crew" from the district's building and grounds department, which spent a full week at Orchard Park every year. During this week, the crew painted classrooms and took care of any maintenance problems. Hedges considered this yearly visit one of the best programs the district offered (FN, 10/6/82, p. 2). In the year of this study, the foreman of the crew advised Hedges regarding energy conservation and classroom heating (FN, 10/6/82, p. 5), assisted her in installing the new kiln (FN, 10/6/82, pp. 3-4), and informed her about a deteriorated geographic map he had found in one of the classrooms (FN, 10/6/82, p. 15).

The district's building and grounds department also provided assistance with equipment problems. In one case, a district person was sent to find out why the school's bell had not been functioning properly, and he discovered that it had been stolen (FN, 3/15/83, p. 9).

Staff members usually referred equipment problems to Hedges because she often knew whom to contact to get expert assistance. One such problem was the installation of the new kiln; in another instance, Hedges learned from the instructional aide responsible for Orchard Park's computer program that the monitors sent by the district were not compatible with the school's computers. Hedges clarified the details of the problem with the aide so that she would be prepared to present the case to the appropriate people at the district level (FN, 5/4/83, pp. 1-2).

Social Curriculum: Just as a neat and clean environment, filled with interesting and colorful materials, can encourage children to get involved in school and think more positively about it, the very words, mannerisms, actions, and activities of staff members may communicate to students a staff's level of commitment to, and concern about, children. These cues, conscious or not, may influence students' perceptions of their own efficacy and of their "belongingness" within their school and classroom communities (Brookover et al., 1973; Fuller, Wood, Rapoport, & Dornbusch, 1981; Getzels & Thelen, 1960). These aspects of school climate make up the social curriculum of a school. Most of our participants believed that this curriculum was important in attaining the school's social and academic goals.

Teachers and principals often think about social curricula in terms of discipline programs or extracurricular and structured activities in which children assume responsibility and exercise some authority. Student councils, student hall monitors, or student crossing guards are examples of activities that might be included under the social curriculum. In addition, teachers may give children classroom time to share personal problems or individual successes with their peers. Teachers might also use classroom activities to promote social goals for children. This section explores several aspects of Orchard Park's social curriculum and discusses how each supports or hinders the school's social and academic goals. Orchard Park's discipline program, however, will be addressed in a subsequent section.

As stated earlier, Hedges and her staff wanted to improve student self-esteem and to make students more responsible and cooperative in their interactions with teachers and other students. The Orchard Park staff stressed these social goals through daily interactions among students, teachers, and the principal; through different activities that teachers used in their classroom instruction; and through various student-centered programs.

Hedges took an active role in developing and supporting ways of enhancing student self-image and encouraging social responsibility. Through her daily interactions, Hedges demonstrated her concern for students while at the same time reminding them of appropriate social behavior. As she talked with students, she would often touch them, putting her arm around their shoulders or holding their hands (FN, 9/15/82, p. 15; FN,

10/6/82, p. 2; FN, 1/28/83, p. 22). When she disciplined students for misbehaving or comforted students who were upset, she often stooped to talk to them and hugged them at the end of the conversation (FN, 9/15/82, p. 20; FN, 10/6/82, p. 14; FN, 3/15/83, p. 6). Through other actions such as walking a child home from school (FN, 9/28/82, p. 7), helping a student put on his glasses (FN, 10/22/82, p. 3), or suggesting that a child clean his ketchup-covered face (FN, 9/28/82, p. 7), she demonstrated to the children that they were important as individuals, and she illustrated for them methods of behavior that were concerned with the well-being of others.

Hedges also demanded that students follow school rules and behave responsibly. By doing so, she could reinforce many of the social norms that teachers were attempting to establish in their classrooms. At the beginning of the year, she used assemblies, bulletins, and directives to teachers to remind students of rules regarding noise, lining up for recess, and off-limit areas (FN, 9/15/82, p. 9; FN, 9/28/82, pp. 9-11). She also carefully monitored students' behavior outside of class during the first several weeks of school to identify problem areas that needed to be highlighted at assemblies (SO, 9/15/82, p. 9). Thus, she constantly reminded students about school rules, focusing their attention on responsible behavior for work and play (FN, 9/15/82, pp. 6, 9; FN, 10/18/82, pp. 4, 15; FN, 10/22/82, p. 3).

Hedges also expected students to show concern for the cleanliness of the school grounds and to take responsibility for the school's appearance. She requested that students pick up papers and bus their own trays in the cafeteria, and she often modeled these behaviors herself (FN, 9/15/82, pp. 7, 21; FN, 10/18/82, pp. 13-14; FN, 10/22/82, p. 7; FN, 1/28/83, p. 18; FN, 5/4/83, p. 3).

In addition to supervising students and reinforcing proper behavior around the school, Hedges favored programs that fostered student self-esteem. The most visible was the "Building Self-Esteem" program. At the staff orientation meeting, Hedges introduced her teachers and aides to this program and described those ideas contained in the program's handbook that she thought were extremely worthwhile. She told teachers that the materials could be checked out of the resource room, and she said that she expected teachers to use at least three activities from the program each week. She also pointed out that some of the materials, when completed by students, would prove useful for counseling sessions, and she requested that teachers save these assignments. She also said that she would be visiting classrooms to make certain that teachers used the materials (FN, 9/10/82, pp. 2, 10). Hedges illustrated her dedication to the program by remarking on the uncharacteristic nature of her request. She said, "This is the only time I am requiring anything from you" (FN, 9/10/82, p. 10).

Hedges also employed other means to encourage her staff to use these materials. For instance, she placed memos about their

use in the resource room (FN, 10/6/82, p. 10), suggested that teachers talk to one staff member who was particularly conscientious about implementing the program (SO, 9/15/82, p. 31), and asked a teacher during an IEP (Individualized Education Program) meeting to consider how the materials could be incorporated into the child's instructional program (FN, 9/15/82, p. 17).

In order to encourage leadership capabilities and promote the self-worth of students, Hedges planned activities that would require students to assume some responsibility for school events and programs. For example, she sponsored student council elections by conducting a "campaign assembly" (SO, 10/22/82, p. 12) and she planned a program of activities to enhance the leadership abilities of student council members (FN, 9/28/82, p. 11; SO, 10/22/82, p. 10). In addition, she formed a "chair crew" of students who were responsible for setting up and taking down chairs in the auditorium during the year (FN, 9/28/82, p. 3). The two boys whom she selected as captains for this assignment had particularly negative attitudes toward school. She singled them out as leaders to improve their attitudes toward school and themselves (FN, 9/28/82, p. 2). A teacher of one of the boys expressed her admiration for Hedges's strategy (FN, 9/28/82, p. 6). In a similar vein, Hedges assigned a student to the traffic squad. The result of this action was summed up by the child's teacher, who remarked, "I had a boy who was really a problem and she assigned him to traffic and it just turned him around" (TI, 5/25/83, p. 11).

Besides pushing some of her own pet projects, Hedges was quite supportive of the social responsibilities teachers were trying to instill in their students. Occasionally, teachers would send to her office students who had not completed assignments or who had failed to bring their books and materials to class (FN, 10/18/82, pp. 1, 10). Whenever this happened, Hedges supported the teacher by strongly reminding the students of classroom rules or by having them phone home to get their materials. She also made it a point to comment on students' behavior during classroom visits by remarking on how well they were cooperating or sitting (FN, 9/15/82, p. 10; FN, 10/18/82, p. 2; FN, 5/12/83, p. 8).

Teachers employed several strategies to achieve social outcomes for students. Some planned classroom activities to teach students social responsibilities. For example, one teacher assigned student leaders for each learning center and periodically rotated responsibility for monitoring the door and classroom cleanup (TI, 5/20/83, p. 1). Another teacher presented "good citizenship" awards to students who handed in homework on time, were helpful and cooperative with other students, and followed class rules (TI, 5/25/83, p. 2).

To foster self-growth and self-awareness, many teachers used class discussions revolving around various "real life" social situations (TI, 5/9/83, p. 2; TI, 5/18/83, pp. 1-2). For

example, the teacher who taught the first- and second-grade learning handicapped class summed up her activities as follows:

> So I try to let them see where they are with their handicap, which is a learning handicap, which is not a visual handicap at all. And I like to see them be able to handle that when someone calls them names or confronts them on why [they] are in this room. (TI, 5/18/83, p. 2)

Similarly, another teacher encouraged in-class discussions that were particularly appropriate for her students:

> I had many youngsters this year that had problems getting along with each other, and if something [happens] we talk about it and what they should do if something happens. So many of our children are quick to fight, and we try to tell them to come to the teacher first. (TI, 5/25/83, p. 1)

Along with using real life situations to stimulate class discussions, teachers incorporated other strategies to teach students to deal with their feelings, including values-clarification lessons (TI, 5/25/83, p. 3) and role playing exercises (TI, 5/20/83, p. 1). One teacher specified how role playing was used:

> We do lots of role playing, where in the dollhouse there's a father and a mother and brothers and sisters. And then we work out situations. If a brother and sister . . . have a fight or if there's jealousy, they do a lot of role playing and dramatization. (TI, 5/20/83, p. 1)

Because teachers readily mentioned the improvement of student self-esteem as a major social outcome (TI, 2/23/83, p. 1; TI, 4/27/83, p. 1; TI, 4/28/83, p. 1; TI, 5/23/83, p. 1), many incorporated activities into their classroom from the "Building Self-Esteem" materials that Hedges made available (TI, 5/25/83, p. 3). Other teachers, however, used different activities. One popular alternative was a small-group discussion exercise called "magic circle" (TI, 2/23/83, p. 2; TI, 5/9/83, p. 2; TI, 5/11/83, p. 2). One teacher who used the program said that it gave each child a chance to discuss a problem "in a confidential manner; just the people involved in their group are going to hear about it" (TI, 5/9/83, p. 2).

Other strategies were used as well. One teacher used a "life box" to encourage students to talk about important aspects of their own lives (TI, 5/11/83, p. 2). In addition, teachers used art projects in order to help students talk about their family relationships (TI, 5/11/83, p. 2). Similarly, other kinds of

objects were incorporated into class activities to promote discussion. One teacher used a "Do Some Kit," which, she said,

> teaches children [by] using puppets and other little animated things about how to get along with others, how to feel good about yourself, [and] how to be the best person you can be. (TI, 2/23/83, p. 1)

In conclusion, meeting the emotional and social needs of students was an important goal of Hedges and her teaching staff; their social curricula were designed to achieve this outcome. While teachers did not always implement the programs Hedges recommended to improve student self-esteem, they did incorporate a variety of activities, including group discussions, role playing, and various objects, into their lessons. Students received consistent messages from teachers and from the principal that they were important. In the end, this contributed to a school climate where students could feel safe and could grow emotionally and socially as well as academically.

Discipline: Although the administrators and teachers in our study included discipline as an important part of a school's social curriculum, the emphasis that they placed on the topic underlies our decision to give student discipline its own section in this report. In giving prominence to the question of discipline, the participants in our study were acting in accord with opinions expressed by scholars throughout the history of American education: For example, William T. Harris (1908) linked school discipline to the "moral education" of the country's children; Abraham Maslow (1954) theorized that children had to feel secure--the consequence of being in a safe environment--before they could devote energy and attention to higher order learning; and recently, and just as emphatically, researchers of effective schools have added their voices to the continuing concern about student deportment (Armor et al., 1976; Brookover & Lezotte, 1977; Venezky & Winfield, 1979; Wynne, 1981).

In the previous section we described Frances Hedges's attempts to create a warm, nurturing environment where children could grow both socially and academically. While many teachers recognized and supported these goals (TI, 2/23/83, p. 4; TI, 5/11/83, p. 4; TI, 5/16/83, p. 4), they were also aware of Hedges's concern with student deportment. One teacher spoke about these two sides of Hedges:

> [Hedges] does not want a sterile climate for the children. She wants the whole child to be considered. She wants them to feel comfortable in the room wherever they are, and yet she is a rigid disciplinarian. She does not believe that children should get away with poor behavior. (TI, 5/11/83, p. 5)

Hedges readily admitted the importance she attached to monitoring student behavior and said her interest in student discipline stemmed from her counseling background. Hedges's original desire to be a child psychologist appeared to have stayed with her, as she herself pointed out when she said, "I find myself doing a lot of counseling with children as I work with them" (TI, 9/7/82, p. 2). Using this training, she was able to communicate effectively with children who were having behavior problems. She commented:

> [Students] come when they have a problem. They come when they feel they're not being heard by the adult that they tried to communicate with. It's a very open, warm sort of communication. (TI, 9/7/82, p. 11)

As we watched Hedges interact with students who had misbehaved, her counseling style became apparent. In one incident, a boy named Steve was accidentally hit with a ball and retaliated by getting into a fight. When he and the other three boys involved were sent to Hedges's office, the principal questioned them carefully about the details of the fight. She then reprimanded Steve, who tried to justify his behavior by saying that the second boy had thrown the ball at him on purpose. Hedges told him, "No, Steve, you have gone about it the wrong way. When a ball hits you, it's an accident," and she added that she would send a letter to his mother. She turned to the other two boys and told them, "It might have been a good idea for you not to get involved," and said that she would send letters home to their parents about their behavior (FN, 10/6/82, pp. 13-15).

This example illustrates important aspects of Hedges's disciplinary methods. She said to us that she wanted students to explain to her why they did what they did, to know why they were being punished, and to learn what they could have done differently (FN, 10/6/82, p. 15). She also described her strategy of telling students what she had seen them do as a way of "formalizing observations about [students'] behavior to help make them aware of it themselves" (FN, 3/15/83, pp. 2-3).

The central role that Hedges played in contributing to a safe and orderly atmosphere was also apparent in her daily actions around the school. She clarified rules early in the year through public forums, most notably during student assemblies, where she reminded students about noise in the hallways, cleanliness of the school grounds, and areas of the school that were considered off limits (SO, 9/15/82, p. 9; FN, 9/28/82, pp. 9-10). She spent much of her time observing students as they entered and left the building, moved from classroom to classroom, ate breakfast and lunch in the cafeteria, and played in the yard during recess (FN, 9/15/82, pp. 7, 9, 21, 29; FN, 9/28/82, p. 7; FN, 10/6/82, p. 5; FN, 10/18/82, p. 9).

While monitoring students, the principal frequently spoke to them about their behavior and reminded them of school rules. She

confronted children about running in the hallways and entering the building through the wrong doors (FN, 9/15/82, pp. 9, 20; FN, 10/6/82, pp. 2, 4, 7); admonished them about running and playing in the wrong place in the schoolyard (FN, 9/15/82, pp. 6, 9, 21, 22; FN, 10/6/82, p. 2; FN, 10/18/82, pp. 4-5, 15); and reprimanded them for fighting and pushing (FN, 9/15/82, pp. 20-21, 23-24; FN, 9/20/82, p. 6; FN, 9/28/82, p. 7; FN, 10/6/82, pp. 6-7; FN, 3/15/83, pp. 6-7). She also made it a point to reinforce students when they were acting appropriately, such as when they waited quietly in the auditorium before going to their classrooms (FN, 5/4/83, p. 3) and when they sat quietly and cooperated with classroom teachers (FN, 9/15/82, p. 10; FN, 5/4/83, p. 8).

As a result of the active and visible role that Hedges took in handling discipline matters, students and teachers often approached her to report problems. Students came up to her in the yard to report fights, disturbances, or instances where items had been stolen (FN, 9/15/82, p. 20; FN, 10/22/82, p. 3; FN, 1/28/83, pp. 5, 18; FN, 3/15/83, pp. 4-6). In fact, Hedges commented to the observer after one such incident, "The students keep me informed" (FN, 1/28/83, p. 18). Teachers and support staff also approached Hedges as she walked about the school, and they informed her about such things as the noise level in the library (FN, 5/4/83, p. 6), the disappearance of a pumpkin (FN, 10/6/82, p. 5; FN, 10/18/82, p. 6), a student roaming in the halls (FN, 9/15/82, p. 14), and the behavior of children in the play yard (FN, 10/18/82, p. 12; FN, 3/15/83, p. 3).

Hedges also supported teachers by speaking to students who misbehaved in their classrooms. Teachers felt that Hedges's counseling background had contributed to her willingness to deal with these problem children (SFI, 2/23/83, p. 3; SFI, 3/16/83, p. 3; SFI, 4/28/83, p. 3; SFI, 6/7/83, p. 3). As one teacher said:

> [Hedges] has a relationship with almost all of the children . . . that may be really on a blacklist in their classroom. If they just aren't living up to behavior, she will find a way to have a relationship with them. If it's your child that's constantly acting out [misbehaving], you would almost want her to say, "Doggone! Let's give up on that kid." But she really does not. (TI, 5/11/83, p. 5)

Although teachers often dealt with their students' behavior problems (SFI, 2/23/83, p. 3; SFI, 3/16/83, p. 3; SFI, 5/12/83, p. 3; SFI, 5/18/83, p. 3; SFI, 5/25/83, p. 3), they sometimes sent students to Hedges to be disciplined (FN, 10/22/82, p. 7; FN, 1/28/83, pp. 11, 22; FN, 4/21/83, p. 2; FN, 5/23/83, p. 1). At other times, the teacher, the child, and a parent participated in the discussion with the principal (FN, 1/28/83, p. 4). Some teachers, however, resisted sending students to Hedges because they saw no real value in doing so. Several complained that

Hedges did not get tough enough with students before sending them back to class (SFI, 3/16/83, p. 3; SFI, 5/12/83, p. 3).

Dealing with discipline problems was nothing new to Hedges and the teaching staff. Several years before this study, Hedges and her teachers had established for the school a list of formal guidelines, referred to as the "code of conduct," which set explicit discipline requirements for students (IOI, 3/22/83, Part II). One teacher summarized the rationale for developing the code:

> A couple of years ago we had problems with children just being very disruptive constantly. So we had to set school policies as to acceptable behavior. We tried to look into different school policies. This code of conduct is to be maintained so that all children will understand that it's not just for one particular child. It's for every child; in order to have a learning atmosphere that is conducive for them, it cannot be disruptive. (TI, 3/9/83, p. 6)

This discipline system required that teachers place wall charts in their classrooms to spell out rules for student behavior, and that they use note cards, called behavior cards, to record student infractions. Many teachers, however, mentioned that while the idea of using the behavior cards as a permanent record of a child's behavior was a good one, the system was unmanageable in practice (SFI, 2/23/83, p. 3; SFI, 3/16/83, p. 3; SFI, 4/28/83, p. 3; SFI, 5/12/83; SFI, 5/20/83, p. 3). During classroom observations, teachers were rarely observed to incorporate the behavior cards. However, they seemed to find the rules from the charts useful in describing to students what constituted acceptable classroom behavior.

Teachers' dissatisfaction with the code of conduct system was not an indication that they considered discipline to be unimportant. As we saw in an earlier section, teachers used many activities to promote student cooperation and responsibility in their classrooms. Some employed various forms of verbal reinforcement (FN, 2/9/83, p. 1; FN, 2/15/83, p. 1; FN, 2/23/83, p. 4; FN, 2/24/83, p. 3; FN, 4/21/83, p. 10; FN, 4/21/83, p. 1; FN, 5/2/83, p. 5). Others gave out tangible rewards such as stars (FN, 2/9/83, p. 7), posters or certificates (FN, 4/21/83, p. 6), good citizenship awards (FN, 5/25/83, p. 2), points (FN, 2/24/83, p. 2; FN, 4/21/83, p. 6), and chips that could be redeemed for rewards (FN, 5/23/83, p. 1; FN, 5/25/83, pp. 2, 9). One teacher, who had attended district-sponsored workshops on an "assertive discipline" program several years before, actively used the system in her classroom (TI, 5/25/83, p. 1). Still others established specific classroom rules, either on their own (FN, 2/24/83, p. 2), or with the help of their students (SFI, 6/7/83, p. 3).

Because teachers found using the code of conduct cards too cumbersome for recording students' infractions, many developed alternative recording systems. Most of these included logs and notebooks (FN, 2/24/83, p. 4; SFI, 4/28/83, p. 3; SFI, 5/20/83, p. 3; SFI, 5/25/83, p. 3). One teacher, who recorded offenses in a notebook, stipulated that for one to three offenses a student would spend five minutes after school; four offenses meant the teacher would contact the student's parents (SFI, 6/7/83, p. 3).

Besides these more formal systems for defining and monitoring students' classroom behaviors, teachers developed procedures for managing their classrooms on a daily basis. These included such strategies as shutting off the lights to obtain students' attention (FN, 2/9/83, pp. 7-8), saying "freeze" or counting when trying to give directions (FN, 2/9/83, p. 8; FN, 4/21/83, p. 6), and excusing students in different groups for recess (FN, 2/15/83, p. 8; FN, 4/21/83, p. 10).

As we observed teachers, we also noticed quite a variation in the amount of noise and movement that they tolerated. Some teachers seemed quite willing to allow students to move freely about the room (FN, 2/9/83, p. 3; FN, 2/15/83, p. 4; FN, 2/24/83, p. 2; FN, 4/21/83, p. 3). One of these teachers said:

> They are sixth graders. You get to a point where there is self-discipline. I think it's good to let them have as much freedom as you possibly can because they are just thrown to the wolves in junior high. (FN, 4/21/83, p. 3)

On the other hand, some teachers seemed quite reluctant to allow much movement or noise in their classrooms (FN, 2/24/83, p. 4; FN, 4/21/83, p. 5). In some cases, teachers explained that they had to clamp down on the class because it was a particularly "hard class" (FN, 2/24/83, p. 4).

Hedges allowed teachers the discretion to handle classroom discipline problems on their own. As noted above, however, she supported teachers whenever they sent students to her office for misbehaving in class. She took the time to listen to students and then reminded them about classroom rules and their responsibilities. In addition, if a disturbance arose when Hedges was visiting a classroom, she was quick to support the teacher. For example, during one classroom visit, a teacher was having problems controlling a group of girls; Hedges motioned to one of the girls to sit next to her and kept her there for the remainder of the observation (FN, 5/4/83, p. 7).

Thus, in her daily interactions with students, Hedges stressed the importance of appropriate behavior. She clarified rules and procedures for students, pointed out infractions, and counseled students who needed special attention. Although teachers spoke about dealing with behavior problems on their own and resisted the use of the "code of conduct" cards, they were

not reluctant to formulate their own discipline systems and, for the most part, were willing to send students to see Hedges if the need arose. In this way, teachers embraced many of Hedges's ideals about responsible student behavior and created a united front in demanding proper deportment by students.

Interrelationships: An important element of the climate of schools is the nature of the interrelationships among the members of the school community: the students, staff, and parents. The quality of these day-to-day relationships may be the best evidence of the cohesiveness of a group in its commitment to the organization's goals. Positive relationships among the stakeholders in a school demonstrate fundamental agreement and satisfaction with the means and ends of the organization--agreement that has an effect on the organization's ability to carry out its mission (see Homans, 1950; Janis, 1972; Maslow, 1954; Zander, 1977).

Like youngsters everywhere, Orchard Park's students did not always channel their abundant energy in positive directions. One might see them pushing and shoving each other as they stood in line or passed in and out of the building. And occasionally, we observed real conflicts, which included verbal insults, the tearing of clothes, and fighting (FN, 9/15/82, p. 23; FN, 1/28/83, p. 12).

Hedges did not, however, allow the occasional negative encounters to characterize the interrelationships at the school. She used all her interactions with students, even those interactions that stemmed from misbehavior, to communicate to students that she was "acutely sensitive to [their] needs" (TI, 9/20/82, p. 31). In the words of one staff member:

> [Hedges's aim is] to help children. She's very interested in children, always willing to listen to them, [and] wants to build an educational program that will help them. [Her program] is child-oriented--she wants to talk with the children. She'll always listen to children. They can come to the office and talk to her. (TI, 5/25/83, p. 4)

And some of the interactions described earlier (see "A Day in the Life of Frances Hedges"), in which Hedges took time to help students with their homework during her classroom visits or complimented them on their behavior for a substitute teacher, tend to support this staff member's observations.

One result of Hedges's child-oriented program was that the students responded strongly to her. Seeing their principal on the playground, students would greet her in a friendly manner, approach her for a hug, show off their new clothes, or simply offer to share news from their lives. When questioned, most could readily identify her, and some described her as a "mother

figure" (SO, 5/25/83, p. 3). In addition, most felt that their principal was easy to approach.

Perhaps another factor in Hedges's ability to establish positive relationships with students was that "she ma[de] it her business to know . . . who they [were] and . . . [to] become familiar with them" (TI, 5/25/83, p. 12). If a student was having disciplinary problems, she made it a point to speak with that student on a "regular basis" (TI, 5/11/83, p. 5). And for other students, she simply made the effort to be visible. As one teacher stated:

> She has time for each and every child, which you don't see [in other principals]. When it's time for yard duty or lunch time, she's out there with the kids. She's not going to lunches or taking a break, getting away. Not saying that she doesn't need to, but she's right there with you. (TI, 2/23/83, p. 4)

Hedges's humanistic approach seemed to set the tone for her staff members as well. Many of the teachers noted the "nurturing" quality of Hedges's interactions with students (FN, 9/20/82, p. 10). Further, they seemed to reflect that quality in their own relationships with students and in their relationships with each other. Teachers and other staff members often complimented students for good work and good behavior, and they frequently showed their affection for students through hugs and other positive physical contact.

Relationships among staff members were also warm and genial. An active social activities committee organized many staff events: birthday celebrations at the end of each month, a Thanksgiving luncheon, refreshments after a Halloween parade, the annual Christmas party, and occasional "TGIF" gatherings in staff members' homes. A special education aide who seemed to be liked by everyone for her energy and sense of humor took a major role in organizing these events. The staff get-togethers were especially important in light of the fact that the "community room" where teachers had socialized in previous years had recently been converted into another classroom. Although teachers had been given a small resource room for use during lunch and breaks, most teachers and aides chose instead to eat and gather in small groups in the library or in classrooms.

Although Hedges's other engagements or supervisory duties sometimes prevented her from attending staff social events, she fully supported these activities and trusted the social committee to provide them (FN, 11/23/82, p. 1). According to one teacher:

> As far as the staff goes, I think she [Hedges] wants to maintain a real pleasant atmosphere--not a loose social atmosphere, but one where we can associate professionally as well as . . . socially. (TI, 5/18/83, p. 7)

This balanced emphasis on professional and social relationships proved important in Hedges's ability to resolve conflicts. For example, during our year at the school, the relative harmony that seemed to exist among staff members was disturbed on one occasion when some tension arose between some of the regular classroom teachers and the reading specialist. The teachers involved complained that the specialist's decisions were placing students at a "frustration level" which, in turn, was causing difficulties for teachers (TI, 5/18/83, p. 9). Although Hedges supported the reading specialist, she was very concerned about the increasing level of tension.

In addressing this issue, Hedges was careful to sort out personal from curricular concerns. In her view, the tensions had not arisen because teachers disagreed with the academic aspect of the program, but because some had difficulty accepting the managerial role that the reading specialist--with Hedges's support--had assumed (FN, 1/28/83, p. 2; TI, 5/11/83, p. 9). In seeking a solution, Hedges turned to an outside counselor for help (FN, 1/28/83, p. 1). Eventually, the matter went before the faculty council, which made a decision to draft a letter of goodwill on behalf of the entire faculty. The letter stressed the importance of the program and outlined a course of action to defuse the unintended tension. One of the suggestions made in the letter was to hold a staff retreat to make staff members more familiar with the program and to allow them to discuss their differences further. The resolution of this conflict illustrated Hedges's ability to hold her ground on an academic point while maintaining open lines of communication with and among staff members.

Hedges also worked to retain teachers' respect in day-to-day matters. She was careful to make sure that teachers received their preparation time and were reimbursed promptly for expenses. She made efforts to reduce the paperwork that teachers were expected to complete. She also complimented teachers frequently on their attitudes, the appearance of their classrooms, and their lesson plans or ideas (FN, 1/28/83, p. 11; I, 2/1/83, pp. 14, 17). In return, teachers expressed a great deal of love and admiration for their principal. Their feelings for her were best illustrated when they organized a fierce protest in response to the school district's plan to transfer Hedges to another school. Their efforts were successful; Hedges stayed at Orchard Park.

The community also rallied to protest Hedges's transfer. They appeared to respect her as much as did the teachers, and much of their respect stemmed from Hedges's efforts to involve parents in their children's education. According to one teacher, "[Hedges] has tried to get parents involved, tried to set up different programs" (TI, 5/25/83, p. 9). Her efforts, however, were somewhat hampered by the nature of the Orchard Park community. As one third-grade teacher who had been at the school for 17 years explained:

> She does have a good rapport with [the community] . . . but we do have people that are working parents, that maybe are one-parent families, so they need to work to support their families. But many of them are actually very tied up with their work and cannot get as involved in the schools as we once had when I first started work. But she does the best she can with what she's got. (TI, 3/9/83, p. 6)

As we have indicated before, Hedges herself acknowledged this difficulty and also noted that many of the parents themselves attended school in addition to working full-time.

Another factor limiting parent involvement at Orchard Park was the fact that many parents did not speak English. Although Hedges tried to facilitate the ability of these parents to become involved by organizing "bilingual and multicultural programs" (TI, 5/25/83, p. 9), the limited-English proficiency of these parents made many teachers reluctant to accept them as classroom volunteers.

There was, however, some community involvement in academic activities at the school. Many of the instructional aides were parents; a retired woman came once a week to help the first-grade teacher; and a mentally retarded woman worked as a volunteer in the classroom for autistic children by helping some children with their assignments. Community members other than parents were also involved occasionally in organizing special projects (FN, 10/6/82, p. 16).

And many parents did participate in the school's nonacademic functions such as field trips, parties, and special projects (TI, 9/7/82, pp. 3-6). An especially popular event was the annual picnic at a scenic park where parents, students, and staff members spent an entire day getting to know each other better (FN, 9/28/82, p. 11; FN, 10/18/82, p. 9). Similarly, the annual Back-to-School Night offered parents the opportunity to become more familiar with the school and its staff.

Other than special events, most teachers at Orchard Park interacted with parents only in regard to students' academic and behavioral progress. Teachers indicated that they maintained contact with parents through phone calls, conferences, and progress reports. Teachers also mentioned that they contacted parents more often when a child was doing poorly than if he or she were doing well.

Hedges, too, communicated with parents regarding behavioral or academic concerns. She claimed that parents usually accepted her authority and judgment and were rarely critical of her actions and decisions. She believed very strongly that the parents trusted her, and she appreciated this trust. In return, she always made an effort to listen to their views and to give them opportunities for making suggestions about the school.

Summary: In addressing the instructional climate at Orchard Park, Frances Hedges attended to a wide range of physical and social elements. The physical structure of the school was relatively well maintained, due in large part to Hedges's constant supervision and her request that students treat the school as their home. And through announcements and by modeling proper behavior herself, Hedges urged students to show respect and responsibility for themselves and others. Her caring and respectful attitude toward students and toward faculty members created a positive and nurturing climate for staff and students at the school. Even when confronting problems, staff members could maintain the ability to discuss areas of conflict among themselves and with their principal.

Despite having to cope with a parent group whose ability to participate in school was limited, Hedges was able to garner the support of parents, who, along with the school's teachers, rallied to keep the principal at the school when the district announced plans to transfer her.

Significantly, Hedges, in trying to affect the climate at Orchard Park, was willing to assume a direct leadership role in creating a positive instructional climate. For example, she emphasized her belief in the "Building Self-Esteem" program by taking the rare step of requiring staff members to implement it. Similarly, she continued her support of the school's reading program when it occasioned some controversy, and eventually the staff was able to reach a decision that respected both the program and the concerns of staff members.

Orchard Park's Instructional Organization

Instructional organization is our collective term for the technical features of instructional coordination and delivery to which the principals in our study attended. For example, when acting to improve their instructional organizations, our principals manipulated class size and composition, scheduling, staff assignments, the scope and sequence of curriculum, the distribution of instructional materials, and even teaching styles. We suggest that the instructional climate--the concept we discussed in the immediately preceding section--influences students' and staff members' feelings and expectations about their schools, and that the instructional organization delivers the reality.

In this section, we describe in greater detail the instructional system of Orchard Park School, highlighting the content of instruction, class structures and teacher and student placement, pedagogy, and staff development. As in the previous section on the instructional climate, our purpose is to discuss the beliefs and activities of the principal that influence these important factors of schooling. While reading this section, it is important to recall that the principal's and staff's goals for Orchard Park included emphasizing basic skills and developing a program in which children would be happy and productive.

The Content of Instruction: Curriculum, subject matter, classes, topics, texts, program, schedule, and syllabus are a confusing array of terms often used by teachers and principals to describe what is taught in their classrooms or schools. Although these terms are somewhat analogous, they are not synonymous in that they tend to blur substance, method, and organization. In this section we wish to discuss the content of instruction at Orchard Park and examine how that content was organized and determined. In so doing, we are discussing curriculum in the manner of Dunkin and Biddle (1974) who used that term as a broad concept for thinking about specific subject areas. But it was, perhaps, Dewey (1916) who best defined the content of instruction and who underscored its importance in his discussion of "subject matter":

> It consists of the facts observed, recalled, read, and talked about, and the ideas suggested, in course of a development of a situation having a purpose. . . . What is the significance . . . ?
>
> In the last analysis, <u>all</u> that the educator can do is modify stimuli so that response will as surely as is possible result in the formation of desirable intellectual and emotional dispositions. Obviously . . . the subject matter . . . [has] intimately to do with this business of supplying an environment. (pp. 180-181)

At Orchard Park School, the content of instruction in many subject areas, especially in the basic subjects, had been standardized to a considerable extent. Teachers' work was coordinated through a school plan which was revised by the staff every three years. The master plan specified both the basic academic program to be administered to all students and "over and above" services, such as those funded by the federal Title I program. During the spring of our study, we had the opportunity to observe the writing of this "consolidated" plan; in this area and in other matters related to curriculum, Frances Hedges clearly played an active role.

Grade-level objectives in mathematics, reading, and language arts for students at Orchard Park were established by a series of district tests in accordance with state mandates. The district was planning to implement testing in social studies and science over the next few years (IOI, 3/22/83, Part I). Along with these objectives, Hedges had established her own priorities for her students, which she communicated vigorously to staff members. As one teacher said:

> She talks to us in faculty meetings about her expectations as far as [writing], reading, [and] math. . . . She encourages us to share with each other what we're doing. I think she

> has a very good handle on curriculum development. (TI, 5/11/83, p. 8)

Other members of Orchard Park's staff echoed this teacher's perception of Hedges's active involvement with curriculum matters. They cited a variety of ways in which Hedges kept herself apprised of classroom-level decisions and attempted to influence these decisions as well.

A key organizational structure used to coordinate curriculum at Orchard Park was the "circuit." Each circuit at the school consisted of teachers from two or three grades (K-1-2, 3-4, 5-6) who met together to discuss curriculum and instruction. Hedges's involvement was described by one teacher:

> [Curriculum] is developed first of all within circuit meetings, and Mrs. Hedges attends about 98% of these. She's considered part of the circuit, and she [adds] her ideas and influences. She listens to our ideas first. That's where . . . what is good for the grade levels [is] reported to the staff and we discuss one another's ideas and then we develop the curriculum from that. (TI, 4/27/83, p. 9)

Staff members' decisions about curriculum were incorporated into the three-year plan, described above. Prior to the actual writing of the plan, Hedges organized a self-assessment process whereby the staff could determine which areas and programs were going well, which areas had problems, and what changes in the program needed to be made (FN, 3/15/83, p. 11). During the composition process, Hedges arranged for substitutes to cover teachers' classes. Teachers were assigned to teams, each of which was responsible for working on a particular section of the plan for a subject area. Hedges made these teacher assignments on the basis of teachers' strengths and on prior participation in subject area planning committees (FN, 5/18/83, p. 1). When interviewed, teachers noted Hedges's total involvement in the process. They pointed out that she "[was] there every minute of that procedure [the writing]" and that she coordinated and monitored the process from start to finish (TI, 5/11/83, p. 8). One teacher asserted that Hedges's involvement had led her (the teacher) to work harder:

> I think I do more because she spends a lot of time. . . . When we have circuit meetings and committee meetings and stuff, she's there giving her input too. Right now she's helping write the [school plan]. She's giving her input, and it's like we're working side by side. And it's not the principal up here and all of us down here. We're kind of side by side. . . . I do more. (TI, 5/20/83, p. 8)

In addition to the discussion and planning activities of Orchard Park's staff in their circuits and writing teams, curriculum coordination at the school was also achieved through the standardization of textbooks. These were chosen from district-approved series on the basis of teacher input and the decision of a school committee (IOI, 3/22/83, Part I). Hedges also played a role. According to one teacher:

> [Hedges] in the end will be the one that meets with the group of teachers in the particular levels that the reading or math or whatever program we're trying to buy textbooks for. And she gets input from people that are the representatives for the grade level. . . . They evaluate the different series. (TI, 4/9/83, p. 11)

Through this process, teachers had selected a reading series for kindergarten through sixth grade and were planning to switch to a different publisher's series for the next year. A language arts series for grades four through six had been selected in the same manner.

Although the math series was also used across all grades at Orchard Park, the decision to use these texts was reached differently. Prior to the year of our study, teachers in grades kindergarten through third and fourth through sixth had each chosen a different math series to be used across those grades. Hedges, however, had taken it upon herself to order additional math texts to extend the K-3 series through the upper grades. When teachers arrived at the beginning of the year, they found these on display. One third-grade teacher commented to the observer that she thought this was a good way to provide continuity in the math program and to correct for the overlaps and discrepancies between the lower- and upper-grade programs that would occur using two series (FN, 9/8/82, p. 4). After the upper-grade teachers had been using the new series for a while, Hedges asked them to comment on it. The principal acknowledged that she had assumed some liability by acquiring the series, and she was pleased when the teachers responded enthusiastically (FN, 11/16/82, p. 2).

Because of funding shortages, different strategies were required to obtain textbooks in other subject areas. Upon Hedges's request, the school was piloting textbooks for social studies. The principal described this as "a way to get some books into your school," since after piloting, the school can keep one set of books per grade level if they are district-recommended (IOI, 3/22/83, Part I). Using the same piloting strategy, the school had obtained science textbooks for all grades (IOI, 3/22/83, Part I).

Although Orchard Park had schoolwide textbook series in most subjects, its teachers supplemented and expanded their curricula using the ideas provided by resource teachers, such as

manipulatives for teaching math. One sixth-grade teacher noted that she had bought or made most of the materials she used in her classroom, or that she had checked them out from the resource room (FN, 4/21/83, p. 5). A first-grade teacher indicated that she had used the schoolwide math text at the beginning of the year, then switched to a program that emphasized manipulatives, and finally returned to the textbook which, she said, the students now went through easily (FN, 2/9/83, p. 5).

Hedges herself enthusiastically supported the use of manipulatives in mathematics and was trying to incorporate them into the regular math programs used by Orchard Park's teachers. During the writing of the school plan, she suggested making formal endorsement of the use of manipulatives (FN, 5/18/83, pp. 3, 4). As she worked on the three-year plan, she also discussed with the staff the possibility of setting up math "centers" in the auditorium. She then related this to a district staff member and asked him to "kind of put it in the back of your mind," in the event that he might be able to help (FN, 5/4/83, pp. 9-10).

Teachers were as flexible in their presentations of reading and language arts as they were with mathematics when supplementing the curriculum contained in textbooks. Several teachers noted that they used materials to supplement the schoolwide reading system (FN, 2/23/83, p. 2; SO, 2/24/83, p. 9) and the standard language arts curriculum (TI, 5/20/83, p. 2). Again, Hedges was aware of these strategies, and she supported teachers' efforts to enrich the regular curriculum (IOI, 3/22/83, Part I).

Besides supporting teachers' individual efforts in reading, Hedges took a number of direct actions to coordinate the reading curriculum. In an episode that we related earlier, a substitute was assigned to the school for two months to replace a teacher. Hedges visited the woman's class and informed her that reading was the "number one priority" at Orchard Park. She told the woman that she would send the reading specialist in to help set up reading centers in the classroom and suggested that the substitute have the students write in composition books. Hedges then told the reading specialist that she had "made the entree" for her with the substitute. When Hedges returned to the classroom a short while later with the promised composition books, the reading specialist was already there. The three women chatted briefly. Hedges advised the substitute that she would be "coming in and out" and added, "But don't worry, I just want to see where I can help." Thus, while Hedges was helping orient and assist the new staff member, she was making sure that the appropriate curriculum would be taught in the absent teacher's classroom and that the substitute was aware of the curriculum expectations at the school (FN, 10/18/82, pp. 3-4).

Hedges also attempted to coordinate and improve those areas of the curriculum that she felt were weak. For example, all classes had a regularly scheduled library session in order to give teachers additional preparation time; rather than allowing

students a free period, Hedges discussed with the librarian ways of integrating library activities with the reading program so that there would be continuity between reading, library skills, and literature (FN, 5/4/83, pp. 3-6).

Another concern of Hedges's was the bilingual program at the school; she believed that the offerings for non-native speakers of English were not well organized. When a district committee for bilingual education visited the school, Hedges apprised them of her concerns and needs, examined curriculum materials that they had brought with them, and described what she hoped they could provide for her students (FN, 10/6/82, pp. 8-12).

Up to this point, Hedges's concern and involvement with curriculum have been portrayed as encompassing a variety of subject areas at the levels of school, classroom, and student groups with special needs. In one instance, however, we saw her become involved in shaping curriculum at the level of the individual student. This occurred in a meeting during which an individual education plan was being developed for a student in the special education program. Hedges attended the meeting and contributed suggestions about the academic and social curriculum being used with the youngster (FN, 9/15/82, pp. 17-19). Although Hedges did not attend all such meetings, she made a point of participating when she knew the child or had a particular suggestion for the student's program (FN, 9/15/82, p. 19).

Thus, Hedges's involvement with curriculum at Orchard Park was pervasive. She had been influential in shaping the reading program, and she made continued efforts to improve curriculum in other areas as well. Teachers described her as "very involved [with curriculum]" (TI, 5/18/83, p. 12) and as someone who "knows what's going on" (TI, 5/20/83, p. 9). Observations of the principal's activities supported these statements.

Structures and Placement: In the previous section, we described what was taught at Orchard Park School and why it was taught. "Structures and Placement" explains how students and teachers were dispersed in order to deliver or receive that content. By structures, we mean the classifications of social groups in schools: for example, grade levels or grade-level clusters, classes or classrooms, or skill-level groups.

Sometimes the definitions of such groups are largely dependent upon the physical spaces prescribed within the limits of a building's architecture. In that case, the composition of groups may be determined by how many youngsters fit into a space and by how many such spaces are available in a school. In other situations, groups may be more fluid, as when children move individually from classroom to classroom during a school day based on criteria such as achievement levels in various subjects (see "Pedagogy" for our discussion of within-classroom grouping).

In either case, a social context for learning is created. Cohorts of students are defined and maintained, sometimes with

remarkable longevity, which can have varying impact on any member of the cohort. Students' progress can be impeded or accelerated; students may become stereotyped as "bright" or "slow" and inflexibly assigned accordingly; and teachers may develop expectations for students' capacities for learning that influence the nature of their instruction (see Brophy, 1973; Brophy & Good, 1974).

Teaching assignments are also an important element of school structure. Such assignments may be based on teachers' previous experiences, expertise, or preferences, or on administrative concerns regarding staff development, staff cohesiveness, or teachers' personalities and/or teaching styles. Bringing together specific teachers with individual students or student groups helps define the social context of instruction and influences the academic experience of children. (See Barnett & Filby, 1984; Filby & Barnett, 1982; and Filby, Barnett, & Bossert, 1982 for descriptions of how the social context of instruction influences students' perceptions and the rate at which materials are presented to students.)

The overall point is that one of the most familiar aspects of schools--classrooms containing a teacher and a group of students--is a critical factor in successful instruction. As such, the assignment of students and teachers to classrooms or their more fluid counterparts should be a primary concern of principals (Bossert et al., 1982). This section describes the role of Orchard Park's principal in these decisions.

In regard to school-level class structure, the majority of classrooms at Orchard Park were self-contained at a single grade level. Thirteen classes fit this description; there were also six combination classes and three special education classrooms. One of the combination classes housed the Gifted and Talented Education (GATE) class for fourth, fifth, and sixth graders (IOI, 3/22/83, Part I).

Two distinct types of classroom organizations existed at the school. Some teachers used an "open" classroom approach which allowed students freedom to move about the room and more choice in their activities (FN, 2/24/83, p. 5; FN, 4/21/83, p. 1). Other teachers used a more traditional approach in which students sat in a conventional arrangement with little movement or noise tolerated (FN, 5/12/83, p. 1). Hedges favored the "open" style, but she recognized that some students reacted favorably to a more structured classroom approach (SO, 1/28/83, p. 14; FN, 4/21/83, p. 1).

Although most students remained with their homeroom teachers for the better part of the day, some cross-classroom grouping occurred for reading and math (IOI, 3/22/83, Part I). The most pronounced instance of this grouping occurred for second and third graders, who moved to different reading centers across classrooms according to a predetermined schedule (FN, 2/9/83, p. 5; FN, 2/15/83, p. 3). Two of the teachers who exchanged

students used reading centers at which children listened to tape-recorded lessons, completed skill worksheets (e.g., following directions, getting the main idea), and worked with the teacher doing silent reading and story discussions (FN, 2/9/83, p. 5; FN, 2/15/83, pp. 2-3). Each student had a schedule for the day, as described by one teacher:

> The students know what groups they belong to and to which reading centers they should go every day of the week. Each student has a folder. The folders are in cardboard boxes in the small room. . . . Each student's schedule is color marked. . . . On the folder, next to the day of the week, the color is marked with a colored crayon, either by a dot or a line. . . . Every day the kids go to their folders and check where they are supposed to go. (FN, 2/15/83, p. 3)

Other team-teaching arrangements and exchanging of students occurred in kindergarten classes. The two kindergarten teachers, for example, exchanged students for reading and other activities (TI, 5/20/83, p. 3; TI, 5/25/83, p. 3).

One of the most prominent programs in the school was the reading laboratory, which had been developed by the reading specialist. Students from grades two through five who were reading below grade level were sent to the reading lab for additional assistance until they caught up with their classmates (IOI, 3/22/83, Part I; TI, 4/27/83, p. 11; TI, 5/11/83, p. 9; TI, 5/23/83, p. 9; FN, 5/23/83, p. 6; TI, 5/25/83, pp. 6-8). The reading specialist scheduled students during times when they were not receiving reading instruction with their regular classroom teachers (FN, 10/13/82, p. 13).

Students who needed additional instructional assistance were pulled from class to work with special teachers. Limited-English speaking students attended ESL classes at different times during the day depending on their dominant language (FN, 5/23/83, p. 6). Students who were having problems with their school work received supplementary instruction from the school's resource specialist (FN, 2/24/83, p. 5; FN, 5/23/83, p. 6).

Although Hedges's decisions regarding staff assignments were affected by district constraints, she strove to hire able teachers and place them where they would be most effective. That she was successful in this effort was partly demonstrated by Orchard Park's low rate of staff turnover; at the time of this study, retirement was the only reason teachers left the school (FN, 10/26/82, p. 8). Hedges's reputation as a strong instructional leader had also led five of her teachers, who had known her before she became Orchard Park's principal, to wait for openings at the school so they could work with her (I, 5/11/83, p. 1).

The hiring and assignment of one of the school's sixth-grade teachers exemplified Hedges's strategies to improve instruction at Orchard Park. The principal had been impressed with this teacher's organization and style while working with her as a vice-principal at another school (SO, 1/28/83, p. 14). When the teacher joined the Orchard Park staff, Hedges had assigned her to teach sixth grade because this teacher adhered to a nontraditional, open teaching style in contrast to the other sixth-grade teacher, who used the more traditional, whole-class approach. In Hedges's opinion, it was important to provide alternative teaching styles for children, and although she preferred open teaching methods, she moved several students out of the nontraditional class and into the other classroom because she felt they needed more structure (SO, 1/28/83, p. 14).

Hedges was also responsible for assigning aides to the classroom teachers. Each aide was assigned to two teachers. There was one exception, an aide who was assigned to only one teacher because the aide was also responsible for teaching computer literacy to a small group of students (FN, 9/9/82, p. 4).

The overriding consideration in the assignment of students to classrooms was reading achievement (IOI, 3/12/83, Part II; FN, 5/18/83, p. 3). After the reading specialist had assessed each student's reading ability, students were assigned to classes where reading groups of their level were operating. In some cases, students attended other classes for reading if their level was not included in their homeroom class. Upper-grade teachers generally divided their classes into three major reading groups; the primary grade teachers used more groups because they operated on a split or staggered schedule and could therefore handle two groups in the morning session and another two groups in the afternoon session (FN, 5/18/83, p. 10). The practice of assigning students to classes according to their reading levels reflected Hedges's belief that reading was the most important area of learning for students' future success and was central to the educational program at the school (TI, 9/7/82, p. 13; FN, 10/13/82, pp. 10-14; FN, 10/18/83, pp. 3-4).

A second important criterion for students' assignment to classrooms was the match between students and teachers in terms of learning style, personality, and behavior (IOI, 3/22/83, Part I). Even if students should have been placed in certain classrooms because of their reading levels, Hedges would change the assignment if the student/teacher match was not appropriate. When this occurred, students would attend the other classroom just for reading. Compatibility between students and teachers, according to Hedges, was particularly important in the sixth grade because one of the sixth-grade teachers used a more "traditional" approach and the other a more "open" classroom (SO, 1/28/83, p. 14; IOI, 3/22/83, Part I).

Other important considerations in assigning students to classrooms included intellectual giftedness, personality

conflicts between students, and the native language of students (FN, 5/18/83, p. 3). Decisions were also based on considerations about retaining students at certain grade levels or the need for students to be included in the resource specialist program (FN, 5/18/83, p. 3).

The chief responsibility for assigning students to classrooms belonged to Hedges; she was assisted in this task by the reading specialist. When a conflict arose during the year of this study between the teaching staff and the reading specialist regarding the appropriate placement of students into their reading groups, Hedges supported the reading specialist's philosophy of placing students in more challenging levels. She stated:

> Teachers tend to place children in a more comfortable reading level and do less in [the] way of real instruction. If you follow the teacher guide and truly have reading lessons, then the children will grow. But if [teachers] see a child having just the slightest bit of difficulty, they immediately want to put that child back in the previous reader. [The reading specialist and I] share the feeling that that's not appropriate, unless the child really cannot handle the level. (FN, 1/28/83, p. 1)

Hedges, concerned about the internal strife caused by disagreements about student placement, planned a staff retreat to deal with communications and staff relations (SO, 1/28/83, p. 1). In addition, she held numerous discussions and consultations with teachers. The resolution of the problem was summarized in the Faculty Council Minutes:

> At times, when we are most concerned with ways to solve a problem, we only seem to compound it with our actions. A well-meaning Faculty Council did just that recently when working through several concerns regarding better ways to communicate with colleagues, especially communication between classroom teachers and [the] Reading Lab Specialist. We brainstormed ways to insure classroom teacher input and without realizing, did the same injustice to [the reading specialist] that we were trying to avoid for the classroom teachers. We didn't give her input. (Doc., 2/1/83, p. 1)

The Minutes continued with some suggestions, among them the following:

> [The Faculty Council suggests] that problems concerning placement, curriculum, pacing, etc., be discussed with all participants vowing to keep an open mind and always

> realizing that we are able to control our own behavior and that we neither can nor should we want to control the behavior of a colleague. At the very most, we might add new information which will inspire a colleague to change his/her behavior in such a way as to become more productive. (Doc., 2/1/83, p. 1)

The process of assigning students to classes was conducted at the end of each school year. A separate "classification meeting" for each grade level was held with Hedges, the teachers from that grade level, and the reading specialist in attendance (FN, 5/18/83, p. 1). Before each meeting, the reading specialist and her assistants constructed charts and cards summarizing information about students' reading abilities; these were distributed at the classification meetings to assist staff members in placing students into classrooms.

Because Hedges ran the classification meetings, she was able to make suggestions and recommendations for placement. During one of these meetings, she reminded teachers of the specific criteria, described above, that were being used to determine placement, pointed out extenuating circumstances for one child who was being considered for the GATE class, checked with teachers about several personality conflicts among students, attempted to obtain more information about several potential GATE students, and suggested that one student would benefit from more "hands-on" activities (FN, 5/18/83, pp. 4-8). Hedges's input at these meetings demonstrated the consideration she gave to each child and the knowledge she possessed about her students (FN, 5/18/83, p. 5).

The selections that Hedges and teachers made at these classification meetings were subject to change at the beginning of the following year. Because of transfers and students leaving the area, Hedges had to balance classes again after the year had begun (FN, 9/28/82, pp. 1-2). In some cases, Hedges waited until later in the school year to make adjustments. For example, she moved two sixth-grade students at mid-year from the individualized classroom to the whole-class sixth grade because she felt these students needed more structure (SO, 1/28/83, p. 14).

At Orchard Park, the evaluation of students was carried out in a variety of ways, the most formal of which involved testing. The CTBS was administered at the beginning and end of each school year to measure students' academic progress. The school district supplied a testing expert to assist teachers in planning and preparing for the test; he also visited classrooms while tests were being taken and mentioned to Hedges several problems with the test-taking procedures (FN, 5/4/83, p. 8). Hedges was sensitive to student test anxiety and commented to the testing specialist that students were frightened by paper and pencil tests (FN, 5/13/83, p. 8). Teachers attempted to prepare their students for these standardized tests by practicing with old CTBS

tests and advising students how to handle test items (FN, 4/21/83, p. 7).

Much of the testing conducted in the school, however, was aligned with the curricular materials and textbooks, especially in reading and math. According to Hedges, textbook publishers considered pacing and monitoring when designing tests (IOI, 3/22/83, Part II). The reading series included tests for each level, and the math series contained pre- and post-tests for each unit (TI, 2/23/83, p. 7; FN, 4/21/83, p. 1; TI, 5/16/83, p. 7). Such tests helped teachers evaluate students and diagnose skill areas in which students needed extra assistance (FN, 2/9/83, p. 2). A sixth-grade teacher explained how unit tests were useful:

> When [students] fail a test and I saw on their work that they understand most of the concept, I want to make sure that they learn the concept, so what I'll do is if they can work on it again, like with their parents, then work on it again with me, then I'll like put a pencil line through the U (unsatisfactory) and raise it to an S (satisfactory). First, because I don't want the kids failing. If they failed a test it's because they didn't understand something, so I want to teach it. (FN, 4/21/83, p. 4)

In addition to standardized tests and unit tests for reading and math, teachers constructed their own tests for monitoring students' progress (TI, 2/23/83, p. 7; TI, 5/11/83, p. 3; TI, 5/18/83, p. 10). The amount of testing varied depending on the individual teacher and his or her teaching techniques. One of the sixth-grade teachers, for example, incorporated many tests because of the individualized program she used (FN, 4/21/83, p. 1). She corrected tests in class and provided immediate feedback; other teachers graded tests and handed them back the next day (FN, 2/23/83, p. 8). Hedges, being sensitive to teachers' needs regarding testing, checked with teachers periodically about their feelings concerning the amount and type of testing that they were conducting (FN, 11/6/82, pp. 1-2).

While formal testing was the most pronounced way that teachers evaluated students' academic progress, teachers also used other forms of evaluation on a daily basis. . Recitation exercises were conducted regularly (FN, 2/15/83, pp. 3, 6; FN, 2/24/83, p. 7; FN, 4/21/83, pp. 5-7, 9; FN, 5/2/83, pp. 1, 4-5). During these exercises, teachers praised students or reprimanded them for inappropriate responses or behavior (FN, 2/9/83, pp. 1, 7; FN, 2/15/83, p. 1; FN, 2/23/83, p. 4; FN, 2/24/83, pp. 3-5; FN, 4/21/83, pp. 5, 8, 9-10; FN, 5/2/83, pp. 3, 5). Besides verbal praise, many teachers used tangible rewards including stars, certificates, points, and tokens (FN, 2/9/83, p. 7; FN, 2/24/83, p. 2; FN, 4/21/83, p. 6; FN, 5/23/83, p. 1; FN, 5/25/83, pp. 2, 9).

In addition to classroom rewards for behavior and performance, certain schoolwide awards were available for students. At the end of every report card period, teachers identified students who were "good citizens." These students were treated to picnics, ice cream bars, and other awards. Award assemblies, which had been a feature at Orchard Park, did not occur during the year of this study because the committee that was responsible for organizing these assemblies had not met (SFI, 5/25/83, p. 5). However, Hedges had organized other schoolwide awards, such as gold medals for students who had done well on the district spelling test (FN, 1/28/83, p. 16).

Hedges learned of students' progress on their classwork in several ways. During her informal visits to classrooms, Hedges examined the materials students were using, checked their work folders, and observed their level of participation (TI, 5/18/83, p. 10). She did not usually check scores on unit and teacher-made tests, although most teachers kept them available for her to examine at other times (TI, 2/15/83, p. 12; TI, 5/9/83, p. 11). Teachers, however, often shared with her information about students by showing her specific test results or projects (TI, 5/11/83, p. 6; TI, 5/16/83, p. 7). Hedges's visibility around the school and her nonthreatening nature allowed for extensive communication with teachers about students' progress. One teacher spoke of her willingness to share information with Hedges:

> Sometimes I just stand in the hall with a paper in my hand. Some kid has just given me a beautiful paper or something and I'll be reading it and [Hedges is] nearby and I'll say, "Just look at this," and she's interested in it. (TI, 4/28/83, p. 5)

In addition to dropping in on classes, Hedges monitored students' academic work by communicating with the reading specialist, who kept her informed of their progress in reading (TI, 2/15/83, p. 12; TI, 4/27/83, p. 9; TI, 5/9/83, p. 11). The specialist kept a copy of students' test results in folders in the reading lab, which Hedges checked whenever she needed information (TI, 2/23/83, p. 8).

Report cards were another way that Hedges learned about students' academic progress. These were distributed four times a year. Except for the kindergarten classes, all students received grades ranging from U (unsatisfactory) to E (excellent). The report card was developed by a report card committee in the school district after soliciting input from teachers across the entire district. On the report card there was space for an achievement grade and an effort grade for each subject. Hedges asked the teachers to indicate the grade level at which students were operating as well as the effort level for any students falling below grade level in any subject matter (IOI, 3/22/83, Part II; SFI, 4/28/83, p. 5).

Hedges read every child's report card and usually wrote a comment to teachers about their classes' progress (TI, 4/27/83, p. 9). In some cases, she discussed student evaluations with teachers if she felt the need. One teacher spoke about the care and interest Hedges gave to the report cards:

> She always looks at the report cards every quarter for every teacher. We have them on her desk on Monday and they go home on Wednesday, and she reviews all of the report cards. She comes back and asks questions if she sees a grade that is particularly not what that child has been doing in past years. She'll come back and ask us what was going on with that particular child to receive that grade. (TI, 5/11/83, p. 7)

When making decisions about retaining students, Hedges usually deferred to teachers and went along with their recommendations (SFI, 4/28/83, p. 5; FN, 5/18/83, p. 7; SFI, 5/25/83, p. 5). The number of students retained each year varied from class to class; in some classes no students were retained, while in others as many as three students might be retained. Several sources of information were considered when making a decision to retain a child, including district expectations, the student's grades and class work, and input from the teacher, Hedges, the school psychologist, and parents. In some cases, additional criteria were used, including a district-sponsored "LEAP" test for third and fifth graders and "task cards" that determined whether or not students had reached certain grade level expectations (IOI, 3/22/83, Part II; SFI, 4/28/83, p. 5). Should there be any early signs that a child was experiencing difficulty, parents were notified immediately (SFI, 4/28/83, p. 5).

The visible stance that Hedges took regarding the assignment of students and teachers to classrooms and the evaluation of student performance was another clear example of how she involved herself directly in the academic affairs of the school. She solicited information by visiting classrooms, talking to students and teachers, and examining tests and report cards, and the teachers themselves volunteered information about students' progress and showed her examples of their work. Once again, Hedges's influence was seen as nonthreatening, and teachers willingly involved her in many of their decisions.

Pedagogy: Lortie (1975) wrote about the ideals of teachers:

> Teachers favor outcomes for students which are not arcane. Their purposes, in fact, seem to be relatively traditional; they want to produce "good" people--students who like learning--and they hope they will attain such goals with all their students. . . .

> We find that the goals sought by teachers cannot be routinely realized. Their ideals are difficult and demanding: exerting moral influence, "soldering" students to learning, and achieving general impact presume great capacity to penetrate and alter the consciousness of students. (pp. 132-133)

In his words, we glimpse the essence of teaching, the ideals to which men and women of that profession largely aspire. Lortie's statement also confronts us with the fact that teachers' goals for students are difficult to achieve. In this light, those things which teachers do in their classrooms, the activities or tasks they lead and in which they involve students become critically important.

The variety of strategies and materials utilized by teachers is remarkably small given the diversity of students and contexts in which they work. Further, we can gather from historical chronicles and archival representations that the delivery of instruction has changed little over the centuries. Despite the aspirations of philosophers, psychologists, sociologists, and radical educators (Mayhew & Edwards, 1936; Neill, 1960; Skinner, 1948; Smith & Keith, 1971) and the advent of a variety of audiovisual technologies, a preponderance of whole-group, teacher-directed instruction remains. The range of pedagogic diversity that does commonly occur in schools was captured by Bossert (1979) in only three categories:

> Recitation--An activity that involves the whole class or a large group of children in a single task: The children listen to the question the teacher asks, raise their hands, wait to be recognized, and give an answer . . . the teacher usually controls the flow of questions and answers.
>
> Class Task--Worksheets, tests, math assignments, or other tasks assigned to the entire class.
>
> Multitask--Usually includes tasks like independent reading, small group and independent projects, artwork, and crafts. These activities involve the greatest amount of pupil choice in organizing and completing the work. (pp. 44-45)

The choice of instructional strategy seems to depend on many factors. Attempting to model classroom teaching, Dunkin and Biddle (1974) noted that the instructional approach selected by teachers is influenced by their formative and training experiences and by their own psychological "properties" (p. 40). In addition, as in our own conception (see Figure 1, p. v), they noted the importance of context variables such as community,

school size, student ethnic composition, etc. on classroom practice. (For further examples, see Dwyer, Smith, Prunty & Kleine, in press, a case study of contextual impact on an educational innovation.) Finally, Dunkin and Biddle underscored the importance of the students--important partners in any instructional task:

> Most systems for studying teaching have concentrated on teacher behavior, assuming, reasonably, that much of the success of teaching is in the teacher's hands. . . . Are these presumptions adequate? Surely teachers not only induce but also react to pupil behavior. . . . In some ways, therefore, teacher behavior is also a function of pupil behavior, and the success of the teaching enterprise rests with pupils as well as with teachers. (p. 44)

The purpose of our study, of course, is to look beyond the teacher and his or her students and examine the role of the principal in the leadership and management of instruction. This section typifies the pedagogy employed at Orchard Park Elementary School and seeks to explain the instructional patterns that we found by relating them to student, teacher, principal, and other contextual factors.

When asked about <u>teaching techniques</u> at Orchard Park, Hedges reported that there were no official policies that guided staff. She added, however, that teaching techniques were described in the school's base plan and were spelled out even more specifically in the plan for "over and above services." In the latter, staff had described "solution procedures" for achieving objectives; these procedures referred to teaching techniques that they planned to use in their classrooms (IOI, 3/22/83, Part II).

Teaching methods in use at the school ranged from the traditional and teacher-centered to the nontraditional and open. Most teachers adopted a mixture of styles, but a look at the school's two sixth-grade teachers shows that both ends of the spectrum were represented at Orchard Park.

Students in Mrs. Smith's classroom were seated in orderly rows, and Mrs. Smith spent two thirds or more of her class time on whole-group instruction (FN, 5/2/83, p. 8). Although she told the observer she was not against movement in the classroom, she said that she liked "total response" from her students (FN, 5/2/83, p. 4). In a math lesson involving fractions, she talked a great deal, "lecturing" to her students. When two students had difficulty working a problem on the board, Mrs. Smith reworked the problem herself and wrote the correct solution on the board (FN, 5/2/83, pp. 1-2). When probing her students for the correct answers to problems, Mrs. Smith often used "fill in the blank" questions, such as, "We need to change the improper fraction to what?" (FN, 5/2/83, p. 6).

In contrast to Mrs. Smith's structured, traditional classroom, Miss Kern's was the most open at the school (FN, 4/21/83, p. 7). Her students were seated in groups of various sizes around the room at asymmetrically placed tables. Miss Kern spent one quarter of her time on whole-group instruction, while the remainder was spent with individuals or groups. When working independently or on group projects, her students were allowed to talk and move about freely and might leave the classroom without requesting permission (FN, 4/21/83, p. 3). During a math lesson on fractions, Miss Kern checked students' answers individually. When she discovered that many had not done the problem correctly, she explained the problem again in a different way from her earlier presentation (FN, 4/21/83, p. 7). Students often worked independently on their math assignments and were given frequent untimed tests to monitor their progress (FN, 4/21/83, p. 1).

Hedges preferred teaching styles that incorporated a range of strategies. Her teachers were aware of this preference; a fourth-grade teacher who was at Orchard Park before Hedges became principal said that the principal liked "having the children explore, having many opportunities, many ways to learn something" (TI, 3/16/83, p. 5). The same teacher described Hedges's influence on her own instruction:

> [She] has influenced me in math, language, everything, as far as a variety of experiences to learn any one thing . . . working with manipulatives and using it like in story problems or using a concept in different ways. (TI, 3/16/83, pp. 5, 6)

The principal especially encouraged the use of peer-assisted instruction. One teacher explained the benefits of this strategy:

> I think that sometimes children can learn more from each other. I do a lot of small-group activities. And I always introduce concepts in small groups. And then I pretty much let them alone. And then I come back and see whether they're getting it or not. (TI, 2/15/83, p. 3)

Lower-grade teachers, in addition to using small groups, made use of the school's peer tutoring program. This program, organized by the school's resource room manager, placed students from upper grades as tutors for children in lower grades (FN, 2/9/83, p. 6). Individual attention was also provided in many classes by part- and full-time instructional aides, to whom students came with questions about their work (FN, 2/9/83, p. 7).

Hedges had made a number of changes at the school that reflected her preferences. For example, she hired and strongly supported the school's reading specialist who helped the teachers implement instructional strategies that were coordinated with the

Holt Reading System, used schoolwide. When two third-grade teachers expressed a need for more effective reading instruction, the specialist assessed the children in their classes and helped the teachers set up reading centers in the various skill areas for which students needed reinforcement (FN, 2/9/83, p. 8). Activities at the centers might include listening, completing practice sheets, or working with the teacher. Hedges herself sometimes provided teachers with ideas about reading instruction (TI, 2/23/83, p. 6).

Despite the emphasis and support that Hedges gave to reading instruction and use of reading centers in classrooms, some of Orchard Park's teachers expressed ambivalence or reservations about these teaching methods. One traditional fourth-grade teacher had only recently instituted reading centers in her class. She reported that she liked being able to work with smaller groups so she could listen to more students, but she pointed out that she was unable to monitor every child's work habits under this arrangement. "[The students] are more on their own and a lot of them have poor work habits, so they're not really concentrating," she said (FN, 2/23/83, p. 8). A fifth-grade teacher emphasized the difficulty of planning and working with six or seven different reading groups (TI, 5/25/83, p. 7). Although this teacher was using reading centers with apparent success in her classroom (FN, 5/23/83, p. 6) and had adopted an individualized approach in math, she maintained a traditional approach in some subject areas. Her instruction in social studies, for example, was based on whole-group reading and discussion activities. "If I had a class that was more self-directing I would arrange it in committees [and have students] doing individual research reports," she commented (I, 5/23/83, p. 5). The demands of the more individualized approach that this teacher used in reading and math may have led her to take a less costly approach in other subject areas in which teachers had more control over instructional strategies.

Although Hedges focused much of her attention on reading instruction, she also held strong beliefs about useful techniques for teaching mathematics. She considered manipulatives to be an important tool for teaching math, and she had introduced them to her teachers through in-service workshops. A first-grade teacher used "face value cards" with wooden sticks to demonstrate number values and "pattern blocks," geometric plastic or paper forms which matched a shape drawn on paper, to aid visual perception (FN, 2/9/83, pp. 1, 3); another used paper clocks to teach time (FN, 2/15/83, p. 1); a sixth-grade teacher reported using number blocks (FN, 5/2/83, p. 7). Other teachers' comments indicated they also used manipulatives (FN, 4/2/83, p. 5; TI, 5/18/83, p. 13).

The strength of Hedges's belief in the importance of manipulatives in teaching math was seen in a meeting she attended concerning the Individual Education Plan (IEP) of a special education student. On that occasion, she inquired specifically if the child was being instructed with manipulatives before he

moved on to concepts (FN, 9/15/82, p. 18). In addition, Hedges was exploring the possibilities of introducing math centers into the teaching program. She discussed this with a person from the district office who she thought could help with the idea (FN, 5/4/83, p. 9).

Hedges's promotion of a variety of instructional strategies at Orchard Park was connected to her ideas about how students learn. One teacher made the following statement:

> I see her as someone who realizes that every child is unique and has different needs, and there is no one way to educate. You can't educate all the children the same way, and she is open for that. Some children learn [as] visual learners, [or as] auditory learners. You know, she makes us aware of that. (TI, 2/23/83, p. 4)

This teacher added:

> [Hedges] allows you to use the amount of creativity that you have as long as it's for the benefit of the kids. You can't ask for any more than that. (TI, 2/23/83, p. 4)

Other teachers confirmed the idea that Hedges wanted a variety of teaching approaches and that she encouraged teachers to learn about new activities that they might use in their instruction (TI, 2/25/83, p. 10; TI, 5/11/83, p. 7). Hedges reported that she had hired one of her sixth-grade teachers to provide other instructional options for stuoents at that grade level (SO, 1/28/83, p. 14).

Teachers' comments indicated that they were aware of, and valued, the degree of autonomy that Hedges allowed them in the choice of their own instructional stategies. As one kindergarten teacher said:

> She [Hedges] gives us the freedom to do what we want to do. That's what I appreciate. She's--well, a former first-grade teacher, too, so I think she understands. And as long as we're accomplishing what we're supposed to accomplish, she doesn't dictate anything as to what we want to do. (TI, 5/25/83, p. 4)

A second-grade teacher stated:

> She [Hedges] encourages us . . . to use our particular approach and so forth, which is comfortable for us, because she realizes that we're not all the same. (TI, 5/23/83, p. 5)

Thus, although Hedges preferred that teachers use an open instructional approach with many options for youngsters, she realized that not all teachers or students worked best under such an arrangement, and staffing at Orchard Park included teachers who represented different instructional approaches.

Orchard Park's homework policy had been determined by a teacher committee. This policy followed district guidelines and stated that students must do an acceptable amount of homework depending on their grade level (IOI, 3/22/83, Part II). Weekend homework was not routinely assigned unless students were working on a long-term project. Individual teachers communicated their homework policies to parents at the beginning of each school year (IOI, 3/22/83, Part II).

Hedges discussed the homework policy with her staff in a meeting near the beginning of each school year. She urged teachers to assign students to do written homework, pointing out that "word of mouth is not effective and you have no way to verify that the kid did homework" (FN, 9/10/82, p. 9). Hedges was concerned that students be accountable for homework assignments and she suggested that teachers design a follow-up sheet to help monitor students' performance.

In practice, homework was assigned in several ways. Sometimes teachers planned homework assignments in advance for basic subject areas like reading, math, and spelling (TI, 2/9/83, p. 2; FN, 2/24/83, p. 5). At other times, they assigned homework as a need arose; when one teacher conducting a language arts lesson, for example, found that her students did not know the title of a person who performed a job they were reading about, she asked them to find out the information as homework (FN, 2/24/83, p. 5).

Teachers prompted students to complete their homework assignments in different ways. One teacher, as she was assigning homework, mentioned that students were expected to return their assignments the next day (FN, 2/24/83, p. 5). Other teachers established reward systems to encourage students to complete their assignments. For instance, one teacher awarded points to student groups whenever the group completed their homework (FN, 4/21/83, p. 6).

Hedges supported teachers' efforts to have students do their homework. In one situation, the GATE teacher brought to Hedges's attention two students who had not completed homework. One of the youngsters had forgotten to bring his assignment from home, and Hedges gave him a pass to go and get it. The other boy was very distressed and in tears, and under Hedges's probing, he admitted that the work in this class had become very difficult for him. Hedges's strategy for dealing with this youngster was to ask his mother to come in for a conference. When the mother arrived later that day, Hedges explained to the woman her concern that the GATE class might be "too pressing" for the student. The mother offered her opinion that the boy had simply gotten "lazy"

about his work. Hedges pointed out to the mother the importance of the boy's completing the work. The principal was concerned that the boy, whom she identified as a "good student," was at risk of falling to the bottom of the class, which she did not want to see happen (FN, 10/18/82, pp. 1, 7). As with other situations involving inappropriate actions by students, Hedges attempted to uncover the underlying factors involved and to use the incident as an opportunity to help the youngster be successful at school.

The most elaborate and articulated system for grouping students within classrooms at Orchard Park occurred within the area of reading (IOI, 4/22/83, Part II). Grouping for reading was managed through a centralized system administered by the school's reading specialist who was in charge of assessing students' achievement in reading and placing them at reading "levels" which corresponded to the sequence defined in the Holt reading series used across all grades (SO, 2/15/83, p. 8).

In the primary grades, reading instruction was organized around a split schedule. About half the students arrived at school at 8:30 and received one hour of reading instruction with their teacher before the rest of the class arrived. This first group would be dismissed at 1:35. The group of students who arrived at 9:30 would remain until 2:35 and would spend the last hour of their day in reading. With this arrangement, teachers worked with fewer students and generally only two reading groups at any one time (FN, 2/24/83, p. 5; SO, 5/18/83, p. 10). Primary teachers usually tried to have the weaker reading students attend the morning instructional period and the stronger ones stay in the afternoon (TI, 5/23/83, p. 9).

In the upper grades, three reading groups per classroom was typical. Hedges explained that she tried to schedule students so that there would be no more than three reading groups in any one class. In reality, however, because of turnover during the year, some classes ended up with more than three levels. Hedges stated that she preferred to have students read with their regular teachers, but some might go to other classrooms if a reading group existed for them there (SO, 5/18/83, p. 10). One fifth-grade teacher reported that she was working at one time with seven different reading groups (TI, 5/25/83, p. 7).

Besides determining the reading level of each student at the beginning and end of the year (FN, 5/12/83, pp. 1-3), the reading specialist assisted the classroom teachers in working with the reading groups. She helped them establish various reading centers in their classrooms (FN, 10/13/82, p. 8; FN, 10/18/82, pp. 3, 4; SO, 11/10/82, p. 3), and she advised teachers about materials and coordinated circulation of materials among classrooms (FN, 10/13/82, pp. 1, 10-14; TI, 5/23/83, p. 7). In the upper grades, students worked at only those reading centers in their classrooms (FN, 2/23/83, p. 1; FN, 4/21/83, p. 1). In the lower grades, however, some cooperation occurred among teachers in the use of reading centers. Two third-grade

teachers, for example, set up different kinds of centers in each of their classrooms and then arranged a weekly schedule that would enable their reading groups to work at centers in both classrooms (FN, 2/15/83, p. 3; FN, 2/24/83, p. 5).

Orchard Park's program for grouping students in reading was the direct result of the efforts of Frances Hedges. It was she who set the priority for emphasizing reading at the school, who hired the reading specialist, and who placed the specialist in the position of importance that she occupied. As a result, grouping for reading had been implemented in all classrooms at the school except for the kindergarten and special education rooms. Teachers had adjusted to the program with varying degrees of enthusiasm, however. The fairly traditional fourth-grade teacher described earlier instituted reading centers in her classroom later than her colleagues; she realized only after the program was set up that it was not as hard to administer as she had expected. Although she perceived advantages to the program, she also had reservations about it because she said she could not monitor every child's work under this type of classroom management (SO, 2/23/83, p. 8).

There were no written rules or policies as such about classroom grouping, but statements in the curriculum guide and the school's base plan suggested that grouping could be used as a teaching strategy in the three main subject areas: reading, math, and language arts. Grouping in subject areas other than reading did occur at Orchard Park, but at the discretion of the individual teacher.

In math, some teachers used mainly whole-group instruction (FN, 5/2/83, p. 2; TI, 5/25/83, p. 4), while others had students working individually (FN, 4/21/83, p. 1). Students in one of the first-grade classrooms were assigned to three math groups by ability levels (low, medium, high) following assessment by the teacher at the beginning of the year (FN, 2/9/83, p. 2). The teacher and her aide worked with the groups separately (FN, 2/9/83, p. 6), sometimes with the assistance of upper-grade student tutors (FN, 2/9/83, p. 6). Often the teacher would combine the top two groups for the same activity; once a week she used whole-group instruction. In another first-grade classroom, the teacher allowed students who had mastered a new concept or operation to do assignments in other subject areas while she stayed with the rest of the class to continue teaching the math concepts (FN, 2/15/83, p. 2).

Besides reading and math, Orchard Park's teachers often grouped students for ESL (English as a Second Language) instruction. As with reading, Hedges tried to place students in classrooms so that teachers would not have to work with more than three levels (SO, 5/18/83, p. 10).

Students were grouped at Orchard Park not only according to level of progress in a subject area but for management and motivational purposes as well. In one fourth-grade classroom,

students sitting at each of the numbered tables constituted a group that earned points for turning in homework, for following directions, etc. The teacher explained:

> That's my management system. After a lesson, when we get ready for recess, they are to sit, you know, to sit to show me that they are ready to go. So I will pick what I feel is the best table group that is following directions, and they are getting a plus point and that's for the awards on each Friday. They get a candy treat or whatever. (FN, 4/21/83, p. 10)

One of the sixth-grade classes was also divided into groups, called "sets," which were strictly social. The "sets" earned points for "on-task" behavior, for doing homework, and the like. The points were assigned by the class's president, vice-president, or secretary and were recorded on a chart hanging on the wall. Points were accumulated toward various rewards. For example, when the teacher offered three art projects to choose from, the students in the "set" that had the most points got to choose their project first, and the rest of the groups got priority based on the number of points they had accumulated (FN, 2/24/83, pp. 1-2, 6).

In sum, pedagogy at Orchard Park reflected Hedges's belief that every child has different learning needs. The principal allowed her staff members to teach in the styles they found most comfortable, but she did not hesitate to express her preferences for nontraditional strategies such as small-group and individualized instruction and the use of manipulatives for teaching math. Hedges's influence on instruction was most clearly demonstrated by her hiring and support of the school's reading specialist. She did not hesitate to insist that her teachers use this specialist's reading program and a variety of other educational strategies to promote effective learning.

Staff Development: Nothing seemed as important to the dozens of principals with whom we spoke in this study than the quality of their teachers. Again and again, we were told that teachers make the difference in the quality of schools. The hiring and retention of teachers as well as the development of their instructional expertise, then, seems critical in the establishment of an effective instructional system in any school.

Illuminating the same point, Shulman (1984) focused on teachers in a statement about effective schools that he termed "outrageous":

> I would like to suggest another image for you to carry around in your heads of what an effective school is like--an image that goes beyond the empirical view of a school that produces gains in test scores . . . . I'd

> like to suggest a view of an effective school that you will treat as outrageous. I think we ought to define effective schools as those that are educative settings for teachers. (Address)

He justified his proposal as follows:

> If the quality of education for kids ultimately depends on how smart teachers are about their teaching and about their subjects, what better place for them to learn new things than in the school itself?

Noting our principals' beliefs about the importance of teachers and finding no argument with Shulman's logic, we consider the topic of staff development a crucial part of the technology of instructional systems (see also Showers, 1984).

In conceptualizing staff development as growth or as learning experiences for teachers, three common aspects of the day-to-day world of schools seem germane: a) the supervision of instruction; b) teacher evaluation; and c) in-service opportunities for staff. We have already woven the topic of supervision in this school into other portions of the story. For example, through supervision, we find our principals influencing social and academic goals, social and academic curriculum, and pedagogy. In this section, then, we would like to illuminate the principal's activities and attitudes regarding teacher evaluation and discuss her role in providing in-service activities for teachers.

Before describing <u>teacher evaluation</u> at Orchard Park, we would like to clarify the difference between instructional supervision and teacher evaluation, for the two are often confused. McLaughlin (1984) distinguished between the two:

> Supervision of teaching and evaluation of teaching are not the same thing. Instructional supervision is the process of facilitating the professional growth of a teacher by giving the teacher feedback about classroom interactions and helping the teacher to make use of that feedback to become a more effective teacher. Evaluation is the analysis of overall teaching performance to meet contractual requirements, including the measurement of teacher change and improvement both in teaching and professional conduct to make personnel decisions for job placement, tenure, performance improvement plans, dismissal, and recognition and promotion.
>
> The power to supervise is bestowed by teachers and is intended to create trust between the

> teacher and supervisor, to facilitate teacher learning and develop teacher autonomy. The power to evaluate is bestowed by the governing board, administration, and state regulations. (p. 4)

Hedges performed her bureaucratic responsibility for the formal evaluation of her staff according to procedures outlined by the state legislature. In accordance with this provision, she evaluated each teacher every two years, documenting classroom observations, conducting post-observation conferences, and monitoring lesson plans (SO, 10/18/82, p. 7; TI, 2/23/83, p. 6; TI, 5/11/83, p. 7; TI, 5/23/83, p. 5). She did not, however, place much emphasis on the lesson plans otherwise, stating that she "did not believe in that concept" (IOI, 3/22/83, Part I).

During her observations of teachers, Hedges did not sit passively taking notes but walked around the room observing the materials students were using and stopping to talk with students and teachers about what they were doing (FN, 1/28/83, pp. 6-9, 13-16). Sometimes she did not wait for the formal post-observation conference to discuss the observed lesson but stopped teachers in the hallway, conducting brief follow-up conversations on the spot (FN, 1/28/83, p. 17).

The principal also assessed teachers by evaluating whether they met their classroom objectives. At the beginning of each year, Hedges collected from teachers a form that specified the particular objectives or goals that they desired for their classes. She checked with teachers at the end of the school year to see if they had reached their goals (FN, 10/6/82, p. 2).

In addition to her compliance with regulations governing the formal evaluation of teachers, Hedges also used more informal means to constructively critique teachers' classroom performances. She often visited classrooms unannounced for short periods of time to observe teachers' materials and lessons. In an interview, Hedges noted the difference between her formal observations and her drop-in visits:

> [When I drop in,] if there is something I can comment to the teacher about I will at a later time. . . . The formal ones are the ones that we have an actual conference afterwards. Informal observations [are where I try to] point out the positive and then get to the weak areas after I have secured a positive relationship or dialogue. I look for organization, how a lesson is presented, how much time is spent on what, and very often I like to hear the children read so that they know that I am just as concerned about how well they are doing. . . . I operate with the idea that we really are all a team, and if I can just take everybody's positives and give

> them enough strokes on those positives, then I can get [at] those areas that are not so well done. (FN, 10/18/82, p. 7)

During informal visits, the principal watched teachers conducting lessons and made comments to students and teachers about the work that they were doing (FN, 9/15/82, p. 11; FN, 10/3/82, p. 1; FN, 10/18/82, p. 11; FN, 10/22/82, p. 3; FN, 5/4/83, p. 8). After one such observation, Hedges spoke to the teacher about a particular student, commenting that the youngster seemed much calmer than when she had visited earlier (FN, 10/22/82, p. 3).

Teachers seemed undisturbed by these visits and realized that this was a way for Hedges to keep track of what was going on in classrooms. As one teacher said:

> [Hedges is] in and out, so she's aware of what's going on, your approach and so forth. She might not stay very long but she will come in and out, off and on, at times. (TI, 5/23/83, p. 5)

When teachers voiced any reservations about these visits, it was not because she visited classrooms but because these visits did not occur as often as teachers would like. For example, one teacher commented:

> She stays for 45 minutes or an hour and that's it for months. . . . I would really like for her to be able to spend more time in the classroom. (TI, 2/15/83, p. 11)

Hedges also used other avenues of communication to gain information for evaluation of her staff. Besides formal and informal classroom observations, for example, she actively solicited information from students and parents about classroom activities. But her knowledge about the delivery of instruction within her school's various classrooms grew largely through enthusiastic and voluntary sharing that her staff initiated with her (TI, 3/16/83, p. 6; TI, 4/28/83, p. 5). We observed teachers approaching Hedges to discuss both their classroom successes and problems (FN, 9/28/82, p. 2; FN, 5/4/83, p. 5). One teacher summed up all of these avenues, saying:

> She knows practically everything I do because we have a very open line of communication, from her observations of me and from our talks. . . . I think she has an extremely round picture of what I'm doing in the classroom with the children, and from the comments from parents, from the community that come in about me. (TI, 4/27/83, p. 7)

Sometimes teachers even invited Hedges to observe their classroom activities. For example, the principal was invited to attend

student presentations celebrating Black and Asian-American History Weeks (TI, 2/23/83, p. 5), children's birthday celebrations (TI, 5/18/83, p. 10), and GATE students' presentations about whales (FN, 11/3/82, p. 1).

In general, teachers' desire or demand for autonomy concerning their teaching practices can frequently cause tension between teachers and their principal. Hedges's nonthreatening stance, however, avoided this problem entirely at Orchard Park. Teachers were not resistant to her informal visits, and they did not hesitate to go to her for advice. Nevertheless, a proposed district requirement that would require weekly observations of classrooms and lesson plans might have signalled the end of Hedges's informal style of evaluating teachers. Hedges indicated that she might have to implement a rotation plan in order to monitor as many as 20 staff members on a weekly basis (IOI, 3/22/83, Part I).

At Orchard Park, then, evaluation of teachers contributed to a positive climate for teachers. Hedges enhanced this effort by providing a very receptive atmosphere for staff <u>in-service</u> training as well. Little (1982) commented on this important aspect of successful schools:

> In . . . successful schools, teachers and administrators [are] more likely to talk together regularly and frequently about the business of instruction . . . , more likely to work together to develop lessons, assignments and materials, and more likely to teach one another about new ideas or practices; this habit of shared work on teaching (a norm of collegiality) stands in contrast to the carefully preserved autonomy that prevail[s] in less successful schools. (p. 40)

Little emphasized the value of having school staff members share work on and about teaching under a "norm of collegiality." In this way, teachers learn from each other; ideas acquired through participation in in-service training activities are brought back to colleagues, shared in discussions, and processed for useful incorporation into classroom practice. Facilitating such exchanges of ideas for the improvement of instruction is a key role of the principal. The unique position of the principal in the school organization that permits him or her to facilitate and support the exchange of ideas for the improvement of instruction is a persistent theme in the literature (e.g., Rosenblum & Jastrzab, n.d.; Showers, 1984).

Hedges made every effort to respond to the professional needs of her teachers, complying with a district requirement for teacher in-service in the process (FN, 5/20/83, p. 2). Early each school year, Hedges asked her staff to fill out forms that would indicate topics that each staff member would like to find out more about (SFI, 5/20/83, p. 1; SFI, 5/23/83, p. 1). This

survey, coupled with information she gathered by talking with her staff during the year, helped organize the Orchard Park in-service agenda (TI, 2/23/83, p. 7; TI, 3/16/83, p. 7; TI, 4/27/83, p. 8; FN, 5/18/83, p. 6). This democratic approach was summarized by one teacher:

> Everyone has input on staff development. It is really a program where the teachers decide what it is they would like to do, how they would like to spend the money, what they would like to see in improvement. [Hedges] takes a lot of input from parents and teachers. It's not a school that is run by the principal. (TI, 2/23/83, p. 7)

The topics teachers selected for these workshops ranged from information about reading textbooks to multicultural and bilingual activities for children. Occasionally, the district mandated in-service sessions for the staff on such topics as how to conduct CTBS testing (SFI, 3/16/83, p. 1; TI, 6/7/83, p. 1).

Teachers sometimes gave feedback to Hedges about other workshops, seminars, or conferences they had attended. If possible, she arranged for sessions that had been well received by individuals to be conducted for the entire faculty (TI, 4/27/83, p. 8; TI, 5/11/83, p. 7). One teacher outlined Hedges's philosophy regarding in-service training:

> I think [Hedges] always has her eyes open for a good thing that would help the staff. Any time she can arrange it financially, she does. . . . We go to in-service outside the school, which she approves. If we come back and we're really thrilled about what we've been to, she tries to get that person to come and do an in-service here. [It's] not always possible because of money, but when possible, she does. (TI, 5/11/83, p. 7)

Based on the expressed needs of the faculty, then, Hedges arranged for workshops to be held at the school on the topics of interest (TI, 3/9/83, p. 10; TI, 5/23/83, p. 6; TI, 5/25/83, p. 6). Whenever possible, Hedges attended these sessions with her staff, thereby demonstrating her commitment to professional development (TI, 5/23/83, p. 6; SFI, 5/25/83, p. 1).

In addition to listening to teachers' needs for in-service training, Hedges included areas that she felt were important. For example, at the beginning of the year she distributed a research article to the staff on the effect of school climate on student achievement. She asked teachers to read it carefully and said they would use it for discussions at future meetings (FN, 9/10/82, p. 6). On another occasion, she mentioned that she wanted to organize an in-service session on computer literacy;

her desire was to introduce computers in the school during the year (SO, 9/28/82, p. 4).

Hedges was also responsive to ongoing situations at the school when considering future in-service sessions for the staff. For instance, a conflict arose during the year between classroom teachers and the reading specialist. Teachers felt that the specialist was expecting too much of them and that students were being placed in reading groups that were too difficult. Hedges discussed this conflict with consultants from the county office and planned a staff retreat later in the year to work on improving interpersonal relations and communications (SO, 1/28/83, p. 1). In addition, she began planning the next school year's staff development at the end of the year; she collected materials about "time on task" and "clinical supervision" to be used at the beginning of the next school year (FN, 5/4/83, p. 11).

Hedges also promoted interest in in-service training by encouraging staff members to offer training for one another (TI, 9/7/82, p. 11; SFI, 5/12/83, p. 1). In particular, Hedges was interested in implementing a coordinated writing program for students and asked one of her teachers to attend workshops and then provide the in-service training for the rest of the staff. As she explained:

> One of our teachers has been very interested in writing, and I've been concerned about the writing program at the school. . . . So one of our teachers, who had an interest in writing, elected to be the expert as far as possible. So we funded her participation in Project Write, and [she] came back and did in-service sessions with our staff. (TI, 9/7/82, p. 11)

Hedges went on to state her reasons for having teachers conduct in-service training for their peers:

> Rather than sending five people to the same workshop, we send perhaps one or two, and those people make the commitment to bring back the information and share it with the staff. So it's kind of teachers teaching teachers, and I find the staff far more receptive. They really like that idea, so that works out quite well. (TI, 9/7/82, p. 12)

Teachers were encouraged to conduct in-service training with each other on a more informal basis as well. Hedges asked teachers to talk with one another about certain programs they were using. In this way, teachers who had particular strengths were identified so they could assist other staff members. In one case, Hedges encouraged teachers who wanted ideas about improving their use of the self-esteem materials to talk to one teacher who was especially effective in leading class discussions with these

materials (SO, 9/15/82, p. 31). Hedges constantly communicated her expectations to the reading specialist and teachers, encouraging them to work together to establish reading centers in the classrooms and to coordinate classroom and reading lab activities (FN, 10/18/82, pp. 3-4; TI, 2/15/83, p. 13; TI, 5/25/83, p. 10).

As we have indicated, Orchard Park's teachers participated in a variety of in-service experiences, sometimes outside their school. For example, the kindergarten teachers attended a series of workshops sponsored by the district (SFI, 5/20/83, p. 1); the teacher responsible for the learning-handicapped class attended monthly special education workshops dealing with such topics as speech and language disorders, physical development, and brain functioning (SFI, 5/18/83, p. 1); a teacher with a large number of non-English speaking students attended workshops on developing an ESL curriculum (TI, 2/15/83, p. 12); and an ESL aide went to a number of special training sessions (FN, 10/6/82, p. 9).

Hedges also recommended that teachers take classes as part of their professional development (SFI, 4/28/83, p. 1). For example, teachers were encouraged to pursue master's degrees (TI, 4/27/83, p. 8) and to attend summer math workshops (TI, 5/18/83, p. 11).

Some teachers were so motivated to improve their teaching that they did so without direct suggestions from Hedges. One of these teachers described the process:

> A group of friends and I got together and formed a discussion group. . . . As a result of this, we decided to take classes together from a principal in another city. We spent months and months just working on our classrooms, just accumulating new materials and really simple things from colored chalk to new spelling contracts. (TI, 2/15/83, p. 4)

In general, teachers felt that the in-service training they received was useful; however, some teachers complained about having to attend the sessions. As one teacher said:

> Most of the in-service sessions are boring. You sit there for maybe 45 or 50 minutes when you are really tired after working all day, and then maybe you learn one or two things. (SFI, 3/16/83, p. 1)

Furthermore, the two kindergarten teachers complained that some of the workshops held at the school were more useful for upper-grade teachers because they dealt with topics relevant to older students, such as writing (SFI, 5/20/83, p. 1; SFI, 5/25/83, p. 1).

Nevertheless, the number of complaints we heard from teachers about the time spent in in-service training was minimal. Teachers commented that training affected classroom activities and the nature of the materials that they used. In particular, Hedges wanted teachers to use manipulatives in their math instruction (TI, 9/7/82, p. 12; FN, 2/9/83, p. 6), and teachers were observed to use "hands-on" materials that had been described during workshops (FN, 2/9/83, p. 6; FN, 2/15/83, p. 4).

In summary, Hedges attempted to influence the professional development of teachers at Orchard Park through formal and informal means. Rather than relying on formal observations and predetermined in-service training sessions to encourage development, she spent a great deal of time watching teachers in their classrooms, making suggestions to them, and scheduling appropriate in-service training based in part on the teachers' own perceptions of their professional development needs. In a nonthreatening manner, she suggested ways for teachers to improve their instruction and encouraged teachers to attend specialized workshops meant to hone their skills. For the most part, teachers were eager for her suggestions and saw her involvement as supportive of their teaching.

Summary: Orchard Park's School Ethos

Frances Hedges believed that attention to individuals' needs and maintenance of a warm, supportive, yet orderly atmosphere were basic conditions for a successful instructional program. She described this approach:

> My philosophy is that if we are warm and humane and nurturing we maximize the learning of children, and there is just no way to separate out those basic needs. (TI, 9/15/82, p. 31)

Her caring for students' emotional well-being was demonstrated by her availability to students, the counseling approach she frequently used when behavior problems arose, and by her emphasis on a variety of programs intended to enhance students' self-esteem. Teachers at Orchard Park shared in this caring approach toward students and were observed to use self-esteem programs in their classrooms, including ones introduced by the principal.

Besides encouraging a nurturing climate at the school, Hedges was adamant about the importance of maintaining order and discipline. She constantly monitored the building and the playgrounds to ensure that the rules of conduct were being observed. When she needed to correct students' behavior, her counseling included reminders about rules and expectations for proper behavior. One teacher summarized Hedges's approach to climate:

> [Hedges] does not want a sterile climate for the children. She wants the whole child to be

> considered. She wants them to feel comfortable in the room wherever they are, and yet she is a rigid disciplinarian. She does not believe that children should get away with poor behavior. (TI, 5/11/83, p. 5)

Hedges's relationships with her staff were also marked by both support and assertiveness, openness and firmness. She was receptive to staff members' ideas and encouraged their professional development. She noted and emphasized positive aspects of teachers' work and was always available and helpful when needed. Information flowed freely between teachers and principal through what one teacher described as "an open line of communication" (TI, 4/27/83, p. 7; TI, 5/18/83, p. 10). At the same time, Hedges did not hesitate to exercise her authority and discretion to make sure that her decisions were carried out.

The instructional program at the school reflected both Hedges's concern for individuals' needs and her emphasis on reaching specific academic goals. Teachers were allowed to use whatever teaching approach suited them, although Hedges herself preferred more student-centered instructional methods. Thus, one could observe a variety of pedagogical techniques in classrooms, ranging from the open to the more traditional. The availability of these various instructional arrangements meant that students' learning styles could be taken into consideration.

The introduction and organization of the schoolwide reading program demonstrated Hedges's direct influence on the instructional organization at the school. Reading was considered "number one" in importance at Orchard Park and received more attention and funding than other subject areas. Under the management of the reading specialist, who had been hired by Hedges, the program included reading groups and reading centers in the classrooms. Students who performed below grade level were pulled out for additional reading instruction in the school's reading lab.

Hedges's direct influence in matters of curriculum and instruction was readily accepted by her staff. The principal's professional expertise, her efforts to acknowledge and build on her staff members' strengths, and her personal encouragement and recognition of their efforts all contributed to their respect for her and to a warm and friendly interpersonal atmosphere that supported her capacity to act as an instructional leader in the school. Not only did teachers implement programs that Hedges recommended, but they often took the initiative to participate in activities to improve their teaching. They did not regard evaluation as threatening; on the contrary, teachers invited Hedges to observe their work and often shared with her their classroom experiences. The open channels of communication between principal and teachers about instruction enabled Hedges not only to direct and build the school's program but also to stay informed about students' academic progress.

The good relationships among staff, students, and the principal were demonstrated by two major events that took place at the end of the school year. One was a surprise assembly, organized by the staff, in which the whole school gathered to pay tribute to Hedges for her work; each class made a presentation in which they read poems and presented the principal with a red rose (FN, 6/7/83, pp. 1-2). Another was a protest by the staff, students, and parents against the school district's intention to transfer Hedges to another school (FN, 5/25/83, pp. 1-6). On both of these occasions, the contributions of Hedges as Orchard Park's leader were publicly acknowledged and applauded.

Hedges's beliefs, values, and goals were embodied in the manner in which work was carried out at Orchard Park. She created a climate for both teachers and students that promoted their emotional well-being at the same time that it supported teaching and learning. Children's social and emotional needs were addressed by the principal and staff alike as necessary precursors to productive learning and achieving. Teachers' professional development was encouraged under a culture of instruction that enabled them to share ideas and improve skills in a supportive, nonthreatening environment. Humanism, nurturing, and the inseparability of affect and cognition were the values that prevailed under the leadership of Frances Hedges, and these values guided all members of the organization toward more satisfying and productive participation.

PATTERNS AND PROCESSES IN THE PRINCIPAL'S ROLE AS INSTRUCTIONAL LEADER

Finding Instructional Leadership in Principals' Routine Actions

We want to remind the reader, after this long descriptive narrative about Frances Hedges and Orchard Park Elementary School, that our collaboration with this principal and others began as we sought to understand the principal's role in instructional leadership and management. We turned first to prior research about principals and found a major contradiction: While descriptive studies argued that the work of principals is varied, fragmented, and little concerned with instructional matters (Peterson, 1978; Pitner, 1982; Sproull, 1979), effective-school studies proffered the centrality of principals in the development of potent instructional organizations (Armor et al., 1976; Brookover & Lezotte, 1977; Edmonds, 1979).

Attempting to resolve this enigma, we interviewed dozens of principals and completed an intensive, eight-week pilot study. Based on these preliminary efforts, we strongly suspected that principals could be key agents in the creation of successful instructional settings:

> The intensiveness of the method employed in [our pilot studies] has allowed a very different concept of leadership behavior to emerge. This concept is one that visualizes instructional leadership accruing from the repetition of routine and mundane acts performed in accord with principals' overarching perspectives on schooling.
>
> If such is the case, research procedures must be finely tuned and pervasive enough in the school to reveal those behaviors and trace their effects. A lack of such thorough and field-based procedures may account for the frequent report that principals are not effective instructional leaders or that they do not occupy themselves with instructional matters. (Dwyer, Lee, Rowan, & Bossert, 1983, p. 57)

This statement contained both conceptual and methodological premises that were distinct from those embodied in other studies about school principals.

Conceptually, we began our yearlong studies of principals attuned to the importance of routine activities like the ones we had noted during our pilot work: monitoring, controlling and exchanging information, planning, interacting with students, hiring and training staff, and overseeing building maintenance. We had written about these behaviors:

> These are the routine and mundane acts through which principals can assess the working status of their organizations and the progress of their schools relative to long-term goals. They are the acts which allow principals to alter the course of events midstream: to return aberrant student behavior to acceptable norms; to suggest changes in teaching style or intervene to demonstrate a preferred form of instruction; to develop student, teacher, or community support for programs already underway; to develop an awareness of changes in the organization that must be made in the future. (Dwyer, Lee, Rowan, & Bossert, 1983, p. 54)

The "success" of these actions for instructional management, we wrote, "hinges . . . on the principal's capacity to connect them to the instructional system" (p. 54), for we had found that the principals with whom we worked believed that they could and did influence the instructional systems in their schools.

We also found that each of our principals held a working theory of his or her instructional system--an overarching perspective--that guided his or her actions. Those overarching perspectives were complex constellations of personal experience, community and district "givens," principals' behaviors, and instructional climate and organization variables that offered both direct and circuitous routes along which principals could influence their schools and the experiences their students encountered daily. (Our generalized model is illustrated in Figure 1 in the Foreword.)

The purposes of principals' actions, however, were not always transparent, and the consequences of their activities were not necessarily immediate. In addition, the impact of routine behaviors might be cumulative; we would have to watch the same actions again and again before we could see noticeable change in the instructional systems of our schools. Thus, finding the subtle linkages between principals' actions and instructional outcomes in schools would require the most intensive effort we could mount; we needed to spend as much time as possible in our schools; we needed to question participants in the scenes we

witnessed about their interactions, and about the purposes and outcomes of principals' actions.

We accomplished this intensive examination of the daily work of principals primarily with a combination of observation and interview procedures which we called the shadow and the reflective interview. (See the companion volume, Methodology, for a full description of these procedures.) The intensive application of the full range of our inquiry activities aligned our work with the research tradition variously called educational ethnography, participant observation, or case study by its leading practitioners (e.g., Becker, Greer, Hughes, & Strauss, 1961; Cicourel et al., 1974; L. M. Smith, 1978; Spindler, 1982; Walker, 1932; Wax, Wax, & DuMont, 1964).

We spent over a thousand hours in our 12 schools, an effort that yielded approximately 10,000 pages of descriptive material about the work of principals. When we analyzed this body of material to discover simply what principals do, we found that their activities could be broken down into nine categories of principals' routine behaviors:

Goal Setting & Planning: Defining or determining future outcomes. Making decisions about, or formulating means for, achieving those ends.

Monitoring: Reviewing, watching, checking, being present without a formal evaluation intended.

Evaluating: Appraising or judging with regard to persons, programs, material, etc. May include providing feedback.

Communicating: Various forms of verbal exchange, including greeting, informing, counseling, commenting, etc. Also includes forms of nonverbal communication such as physical contacts, gestures, and facial expressions.

Scheduling, Allocating Resources, & Organizing: Making decisions about allocations of time, space, materials, personnel, and energy. Arranging or coordinating projects, programs, or events.

Staffing: Hiring and placement of teaching staff, specialists, and support personnel.

Modeling: Demonstrating teaching techniques or strategies of interaction for teachers, other staff, parents, or students.

Governing: Decision making with regard to policy. Legislating, enforcing policy or rules.

Filling In: Substituting for another staff member (nurse, maintenance person, secretary, teacher) on a temporary basis.

We found that well over 50% of our observations of principals fit the Communicating category and that Monitoring, Scheduling/ Allocating Resources/Organizing, and Governing encompassed most of our remaining observations. Analyzing our interviews with teachers about what principals do produced nearly an identical profile.

Our profiles of what principals <u>do</u> in their schools--their behaviors--illustrate, again, what many others have reported: Principals' activities are typically very short, face-to-face interactions with students, teachers, parents, or other participants in school organizations; their interactions usually occur almost anywhere but in their own offices; and the topics of their interactions change frequently and abruptly. A study by Morris, Crowson, Hurwitz, and Porter-Gehrie (1982), for example, reported that the principal's day is composed of "school monitoring behaviors," "serving as school spokesperson," "serving the school staff internally as a disseminator of information," and "serving the school as both disturbance handler and resource allocator" (p. 689). Another study (Martin & Willower, 1981) likened the principal's work to private sector management after a Mintzberg-type study of the activities of school principals. They, too, found that principals' work is characterized by "variety, brevity, and fragmentation" (p. 79), and that the preponderance (84.8%) of the activities of the principals who participated in their study involved "purely verbal elements" (p. 80).

These researchers concluded from their observations that the principal's role as an instructional leader is relatively minor. Morris et al. stated that "instructional leadership (in terms of classroom observation and teacher supervision) is <u>not</u> the central focus of the principalship" (p. 689), while Martin and Willower reported:

> Perhaps the most widely heralded role of the principal is that of instructional leader, which conjures up images of a task routine dominated by the generation of innovative curricula and novel teaching strategies. The principals in this study spent 17.4% of their time on instructional matters. . . . [T]he majority of the routine education of youngsters that occurred in the schools was clearly the province of the teaching staff. (p. 83)

Another recent study by Newburg and Glatthorn (1983) also concluded that "for the most part principals do not provide instructional leadership" (p. v).

The major problem with these studies, we believe, lies in an overly narrow conception of instructional leadership that is implicitly rational and bureaucratic, despite the fact that principals work in organizations that have been described as "loosely coupled" (Meyer & Rowan, 1978; Weick, 1976) and even "disorderly" (Perrow, 1982). Only those behaviors that were directly and formally concerned with instruction were examined, and researchers acknowledged that they could make little sense of the vast majority of principals' activities. The Morris group wrote:

> Everything seems to blend together in an undifferentiated jumble of activities that are presumably related, however remotely, to the ongoing rhythm and purpose of the larger enterprise. (1982, p. 689)

The major purpose of our study was to untangle that previously "undifferentiated jumble" of principal behaviors to see how the principal influenced instruction through the culture of the school (Firestone & Wilson, 1983) or through the exercise of routine activities (Dwyer, Lee, Rowan, & Bossert, 1983). To take this necessary step, we examined the meanings principals and other participants in the school settings attributed to principals' activities. As both Greenfield (1982) and Bridges (1982) had recommended, we probed for the antecedents and consequences of principals' behaviors.

We considered the entire range of behaviors from the thousands of pages that we had acquired during our yearlong study, looking for the purposes of those acts--the targets of principals' activities. The reflective interviews proved to be the most revealing documents, since they captured insiders' perspectives about the meanings of principals' actions. Again, we produced a list of categories that encompassed all of our episodes. These "targets" or purposes included:

> **Work Structure:** All components related to the task of delivering instruction.
>
> **Staff Relations:** Outcomes concerning the feelings and/or personal needs of individual staff members.
>
> **Student Relations:** Outcomes concerning the feelings, attitudes, or personal needs (academic, social, or psychological) of students.
>
> **Safety & Order:** Features of the physical organization, rules, and procedures of the

school that influence the safety of members and the capacity of members to carry out their work.

Plant & Equipment: Elements of the physical plant such as the building, grounds, audiovisual equipment, office machines, etc.

Community Relations: Outcomes concerning the attitudes and involvement of parents or other community members.

Institutional Relations: Outcomes related to the district office, other schools, or other formal organizations outside the school.

Institutional Ethos: School culture or spirit. May refer to features of the school program or to a "tone" that contributes to the school's unique identity and constitutes shared meaning among members of the school organization.

Combining the nine types of routine behaviors previously discussed with these eight targets or purposes provided a matrix of 72 discrete action cells. Combining behavior with purpose in this manner helped reveal patterns in the previously chaotic impressions of principals' actions. Sometimes these patterns were related to contextual or personal idiosyncrasies in the settings; sometimes they could be attributed to principals' carefully reasoned approaches. But in all instances, we found interesting leadership stories, where principals strived within their limits to set conditions for, or the parameters of, instruction.

In this manner, we believe we have taken a significant step in revealing various ways in which principals can exercise instructional leadership. The remaining section of this case study of Principal Frances Hedges discusses the results of our analysis of her routine behaviors and illustrates the manner in which we believe Hedges led the instructional program at her school.

Hedges's Enactment of Instructional Leadership

We have related the disparate opinions about the role of the principal as instructional leader found in the research literature. Further, we have noted the importance we place on the routine actions of principals, which other researchers have called an "undifferentiated jumble"; we believe that principals can use these routine activities to influence significantly the instructional organization of their schools. In this final section of the Frances Hedges case study, we will delve into that jumble, find an order that is related to the specific context in

which Hedges worked, and disclose a cogent picture of Hedges's role as instructional leader at Orchard Park Elementary School.

By introducing Orchard Park's setting and actors, portraying a day in the life of Frances Hedges, and describing the instructional climate and organization of the school, we presented a plethora of details about Orchard Park School. The purpose of our narrative was to give the reader a holistic impression of this setting and principal. Yet, while the narrative does provide the necessary background for our story of instructional leadership, we must now construe the data to illuminate Hedges's role and the impact of her routine actions in that organization.

After completing the field portion of our study, we sorted the hundreds of Hedges's activities that we observed into the nine behavior categories established in our analysis (see pages 75-76); the result is presented in Figure 5 (p. 80), "Distribution of Principal Hedges's Routine Behaviors." This figure illustrates what Hedges did in her school during the time we spent there. In this display, we can see that Hedges's routine behaviors, like those of every other principal in our study, were predominately acts of communication (51.5%). One easily recalls from the narrative the many instances of Hedges talking with students, teachers, the reading specialist, the librarian, and parents.

Figure 5 also shows that substantial numbers of Hedges's activities could be described as acts of Monitoring (15.3%), Governing (11.6%), Scheduling, Allocating Resources, and Organizing (11.3%), and Goal Setting and Planning (6.1%). Images of Hedges patrolling the cafeteria and corridors, resolving disputes among students, discussing funding for conferences with her staff, working with students during a classroom visit, assisting the librarian, and arranging for the reading specialist to assist a long-term substitute can be recalled from the narrative as specific examples of these types of generalized behaviors. Figure 5 illustrates that Hedges used Filling In (1.6%), Staffing (1.4%), Modeling (0.8%), and Evaluating (0.5%) relatively infrequently.

Although this breakdown of Hedges's behaviors highlights her preference for conducting school business through face-to-face encounters, it does not reveal the purposes of her activities or the consequences of her acts. The next step in understanding principals' roles is to discover why they do what they do. On pages 77-78, we described eight categories of purposes toward which principals, teachers, and students assigned the behaviors of the principals that we witnessed in our 12 research settings. These meanings, when combined with principals' behaviors, disclose purposeful actions where previous researchers saw only an "undifferentiated jumble."

The five largest clusters of Hedges's actions, when examined in sequence, reveal that the primary target of her most routine

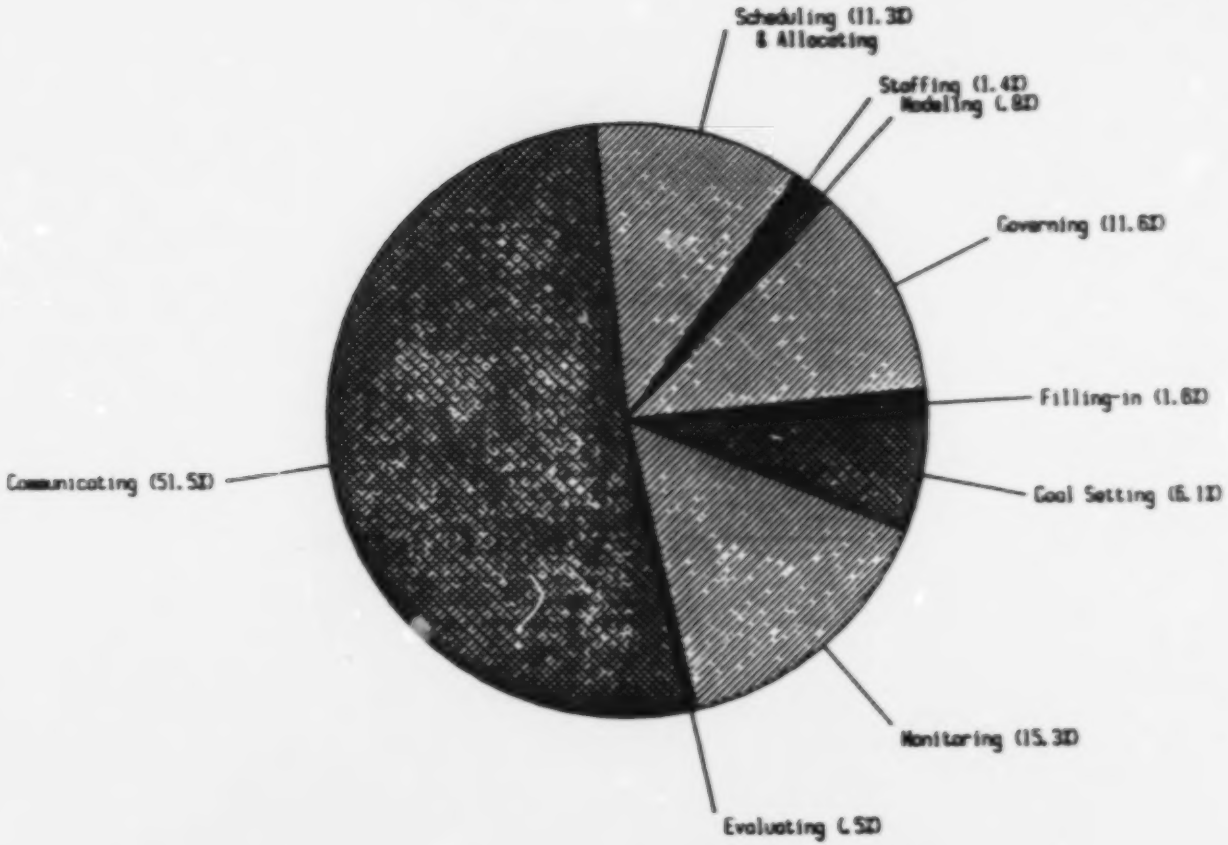

Figure 5: Distribution of Principal Hedges's Routine Behaviors

behaviors was Orchard Park's work structure, comprising all those proximal or distal components related to the delivery of instruction. (See Figures 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10 on pages 82, 83, 84, 85, and 86.) In fact, 45% of Hedges's activities were aimed at influencing some aspect of the work structure. The same figures indicate that her various activities also focused on staff relations, student relations, and safety and order.

Further, if we examine the 72 combinations of principal behaviors and targets in our analytic scheme, we find that most of Hedges's actions (80%) fall into only 10 of those cells. Rank ordered, her most routine activities included:

Communicating/Work Structure (16%)
Communicating/Student Relations (10%)
Scheduling, Allocating Resources/Work Structure (9%)
Monitoring/Work Structure (9%)
Governing/Safety & Order (9%)
Communicating/Staff Relations (7%)
Monitoring/Safety & Order (5%)
Goal Setting and Planning/Work Structure (5%)
Communicating/Institutional Ethos (5%)
Communicating/Safety & Order (5%)

If we begin with this analysis of Hedges's most routine actions as principal of Orchard Park Elementary School and add to it the facts presented in the narrative about the school's community and district, Hedges's own background and beliefs, the nature of the instructional climate and organization at Orchard Park, and Hedges's aspirations for her school and her students, we get a very complete picture of Orchard Park Elementary School. The meaning or purpose of Hedges's "jumble" of routine actions also becomes patently clear.

The general model we illustrated in Figure 1 (p. v) can be used to frame an overarching perspective of instructional management at Orchard Park. The community and institutional context "boxes" indicate fundamental system "givens," aspects of the Orchard Park context that Hedges could not usually control and that influenced her decisions. Important characteristics of the community Orchard Park served included its diverse student population (representing various racial and ethnic groups), the relatively low socioeconomic status of its families, and the relatively high percentage of students performing below grade level on standardized tests of basic skills. Another "given" for Hedges was the availability of various types of resources from the Hillsdale School District. Funding for textbooks, curriculum support for bilingual students, and maintenance assistance for the site were three resource categories with which Hedges dealt.

Hedges's own professional experience, philosophy of schooling, and personal history were also important "givens" in determining her actions as Orchard Park's principal. In our narrative, we characterized her as a person with extensive experience as a teacher and as a reading resource specialist,

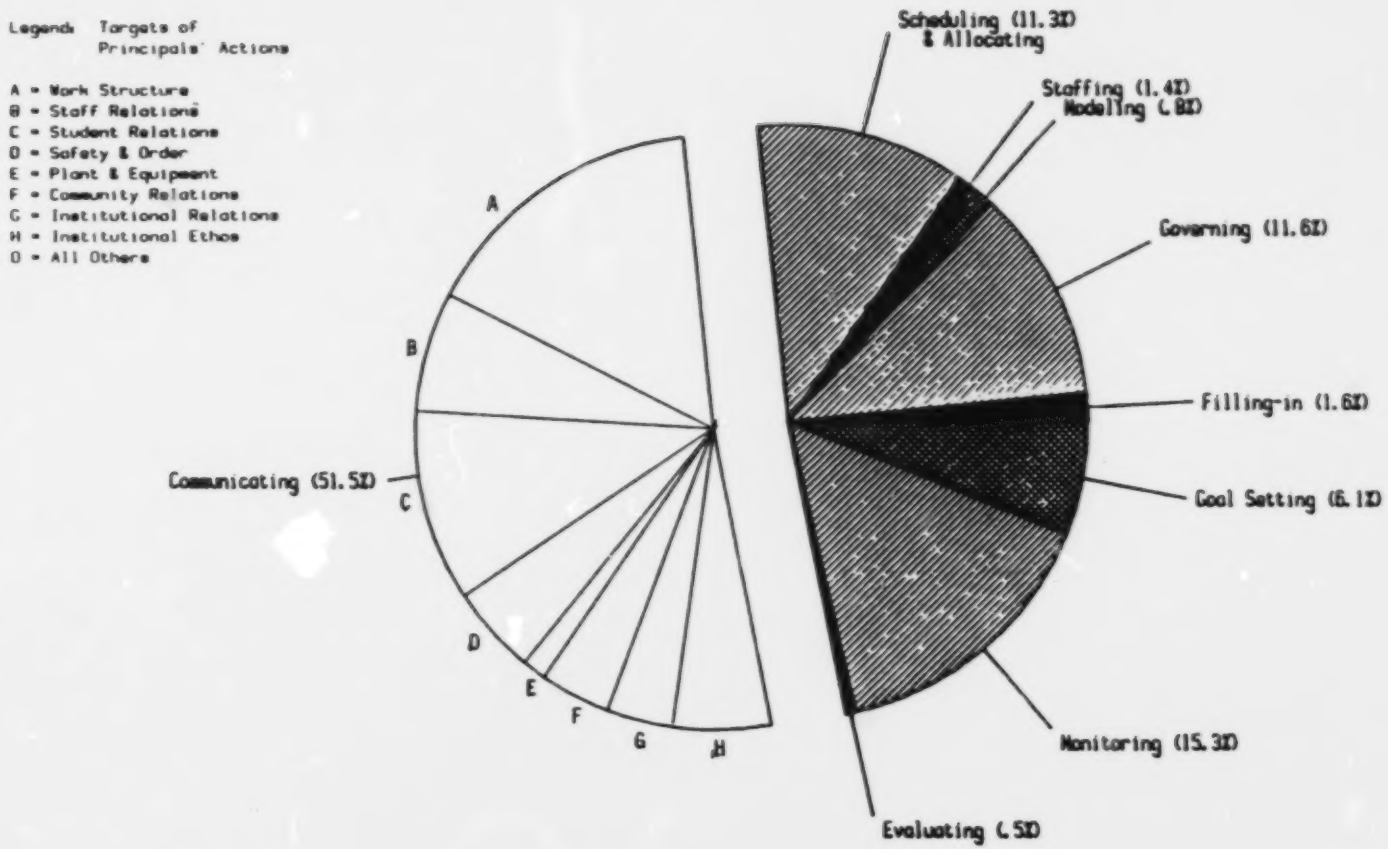

Figure 6: Distribution of Principal Hedges's Routine Actions: Communicating

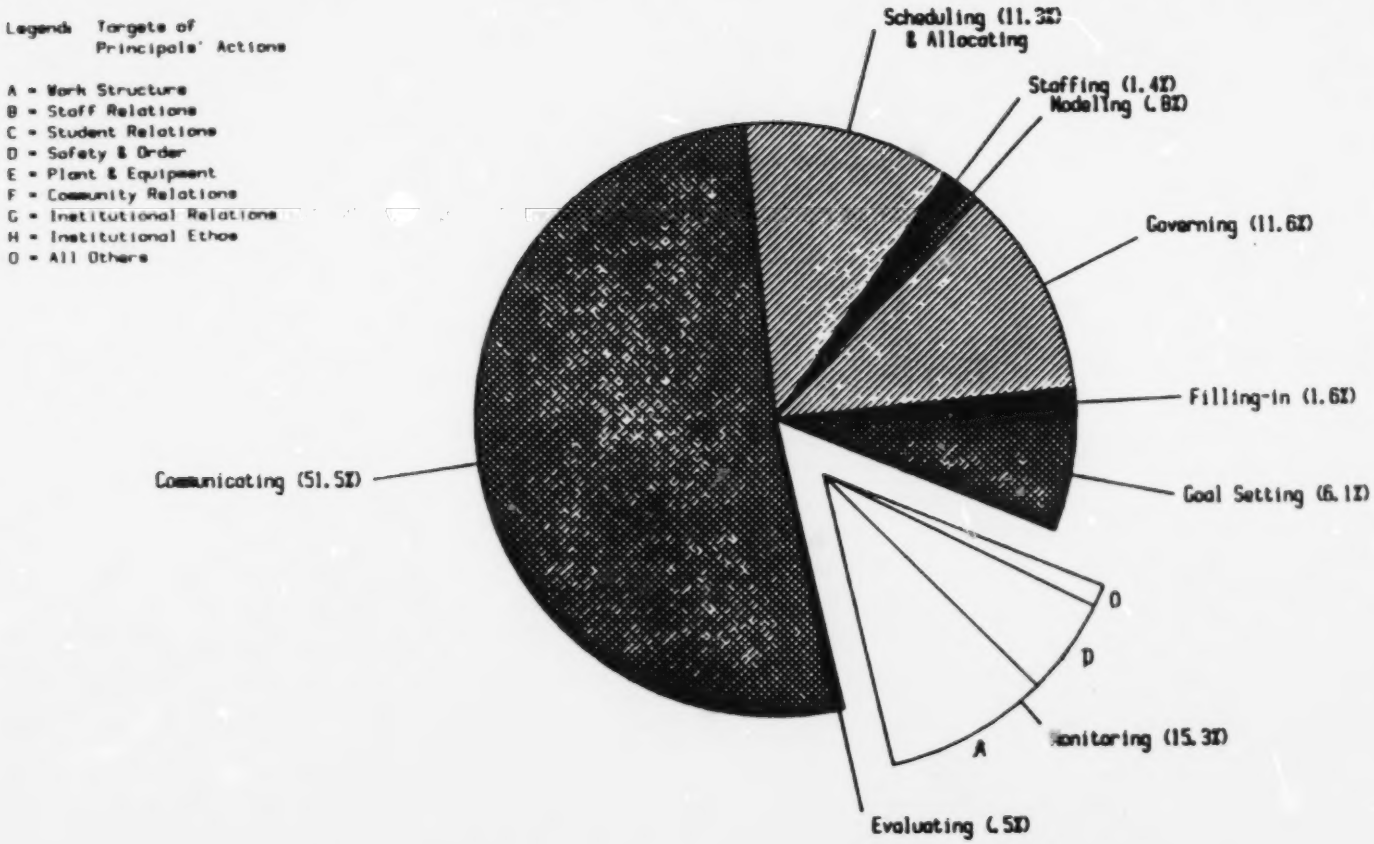

Figure 7: Distribution of Principal Hedges's Routine Actions: Monitoring

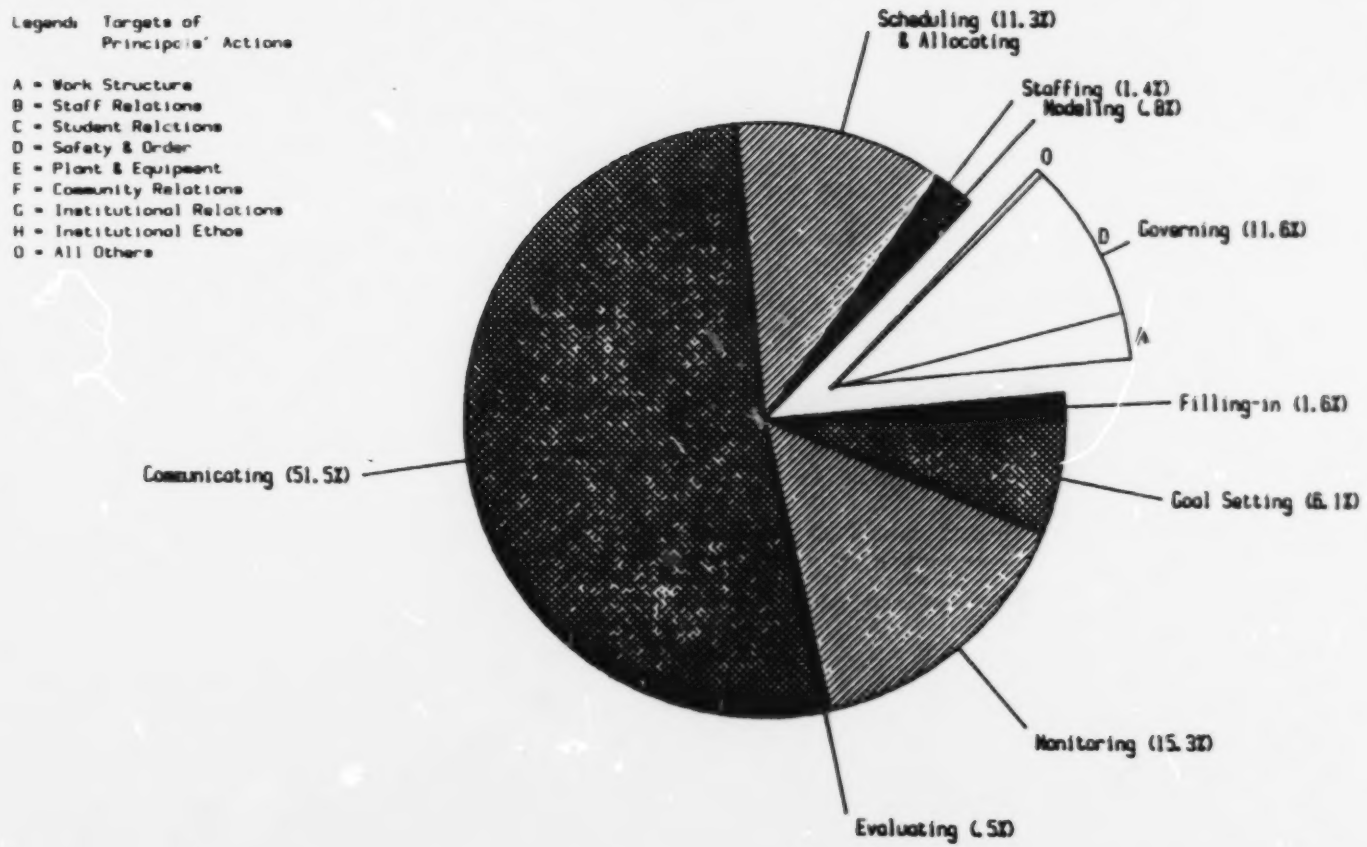

Figure 8: Distribution of Principal Hedges's Routine Actions: Governing

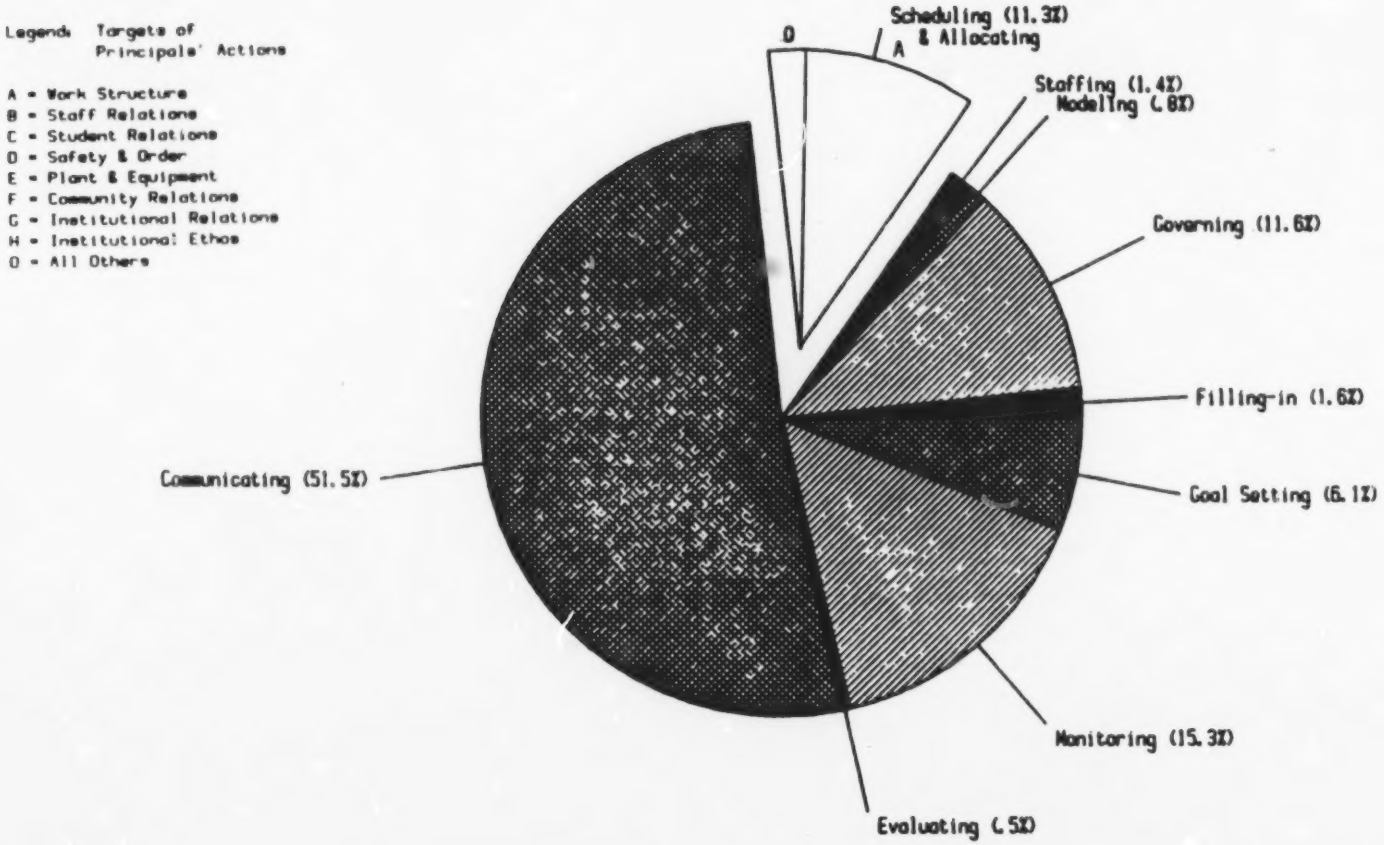

Figure 9: Distribution of Principal Hedges's Routine Actions: Scheduling, Allocating Resources, and Organizing

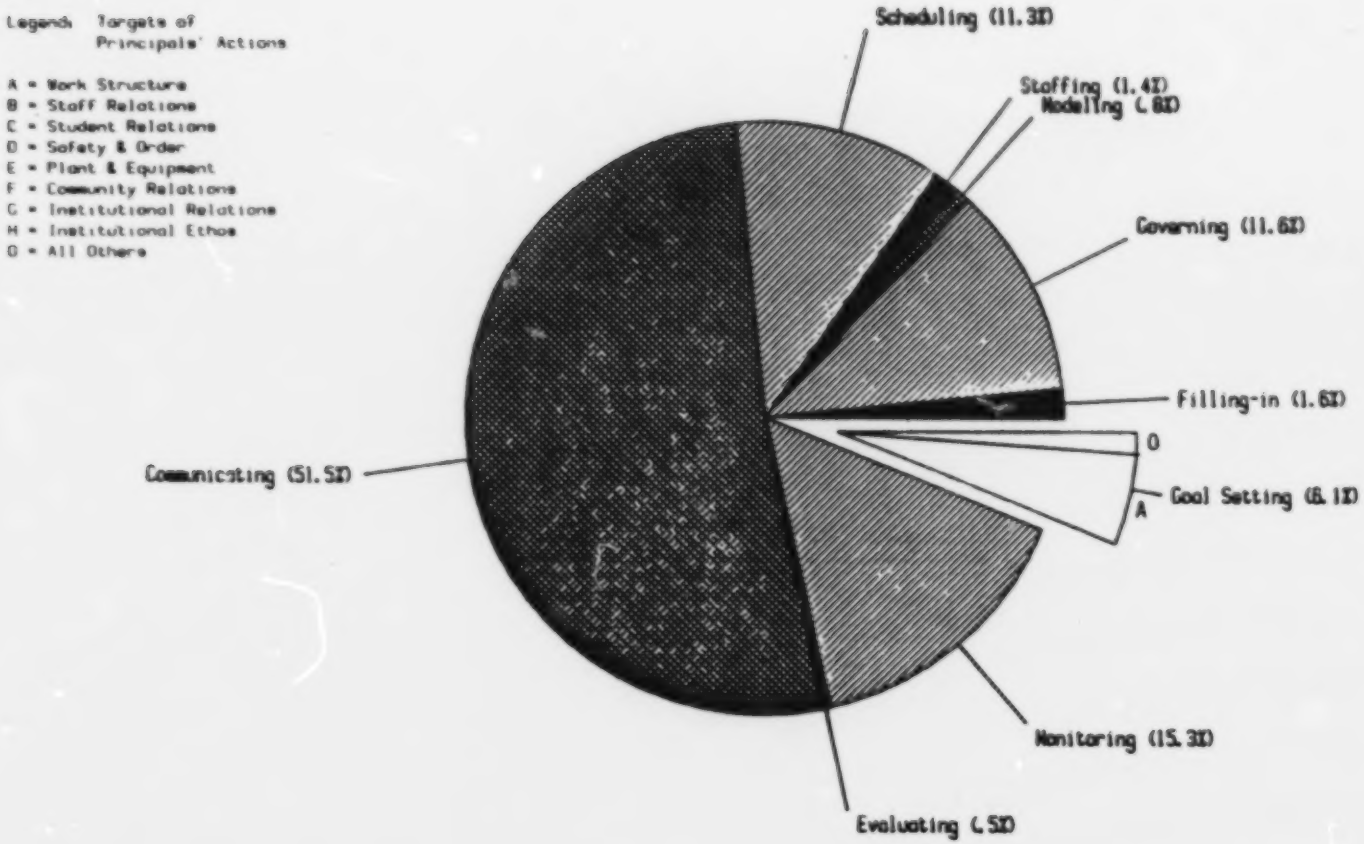

Figure 10: Distribution of Principal Hedges's Routine Actions: Goal Setting and Planning

experience that contributed to her active involvement in curriculum and instruction at Orchard Park. Part and parcel of her instructional focus was her emphasis on the importance of reading; Hedges believed strongly that students could not succeed in the world if they did not know how to read. Further, we have described her fundamental belief in the link between student learning and emotional well-being; in her opinion, caring for students' psychological needs maximized their learning. She related her early interest in child psychology for us, an interest that was incorporated into her interactions with students.

These beliefs and experiences from Hedges's background were the foundations upon which she established her goals for Orchard Park, and these goals constituted yet another "given" in our understanding of that world. Hedges's view of the importance of meeting students' psychological and social needs, for example, contributed to the prominence she gave to providing a humane and nurturing environment for students. She wished to foster self-esteem, social cooperation, and responsibility among these youngsters as fundamental conditions for their achieving happy, productive lives as adults.

Hedges regarded attention to the psychological, emotional, or affective domain as an important factor in student learning, not just as an end in itself. The emphasis that she placed on the importance of reading, together with the achievement levels of Orchard Park's students, led her to make reading a "number one priority" at the school. Her goal was for students to leave Orchard Park with their reading skills at least at grade level, a condition that she believed would provide them with the best chance for success in their continued schooling. Thus, Hedges's aspirations for Orchard Park's students embodied her concern for the whole child.

Hedges acted on her beliefs by taking a visible and active stance toward improving instruction and student learning at Orchard Park. The reader will recall her work with staff in writing the school's three-year plan, her frequent visits to classrooms, and her many interactions with teachers concerning instruction. Hedges used these opportunities as occasions to make suggestions, initiate changes and development, and encourage teachers to improve instruction rather than allow them to maintain the status quo.

As Hedges pushed for improvement in the instruction at Orchard Park, her interactions with staff and students alike consistently reflected the humanistic philosophy that she espoused. Although she availed herself of many opportunities to shape the school's program directly, she tried to do so by building on people's strengths. Her style of leadership avoided authoritarian or dictatorial strategies in favor of developing a climate of trust and a focus "on the positive."

Hedges's direct involvement with instruction, together with the humanistic manner in which she practiced this leadership, had important consequences for both the climate and the instructional organization at Orchard Park. Her approach toward students and staff members, which was professional and caring at the same time, contributed to a feeling that everyone was important and had a right to be heard. Even children who had negative attitudes toward school had a contribution to make, and teachers whose instructional styles were more structured than Hedges would have preferred were still valued. As a direct result of her warm and caring attitude, the principal became a magnet for people; students and teachers constantly approached her to discuss personal concerns as well as school matters.

Because Hedges took such an active role in developing and improving the instructional programs at Orchard Park, many of these programs had her personal stamp on them, in particular the reading program. Hedges had chosen the reading specialist and given her a great deal of responsibility, so that she was considered to be the second most important instructional leader at the school. Writing, math, and computer curricula that Hedges supported had been incorporated into classrooms. More important perhaps than the content of instructional programs, Hedges's leadership style fostered an atmosphere in which instructional issues at the school were discussed on an ongoing basis among staff members. A culture of instruction existed in which teachers, the reading specialist, and the principal frequently exchanged ideas as part of a team that was devoted to improving and enriching children's learning experiences.

The net result of Hedges's influences on climate and instructional organization was that teachers at Orchard Park shared the principal's vision of what the school should be for students. While they considered academic achievement, particularly in basic skills, to be important, teachers also stressed students' sense of social responsiblity and self-worth. In the end, Hedges and her staff were headed in the same direction: They wanted to produce literate, healthy, contributing citizens.

Establishing the Instructional Climate: As did other principals in our studies, Hedges addressed two aspects of the school in imparting her school goals: the instructional climate and the instructional organization. (Again, the reader may wish to refer to the model on page v.) Many of Hedges's routine actions had direct consequences for shaping a school climate conducive to teaching and learning at Orchard Park. The attention that Hedges directed to climate was directly related to her philosophy and goals. Her humanistic beliefs, the value she placed on students' emotional well-being, and her goal of improving student self-esteem all contributed to a vision of school climate as an important end in itself. In addition, her beliefs about schools and schooling linked climate to instruction in several ways: She considered students' emotional well-being as an important precursor to their learning; she regarded an

orderly, disciplined environment as a necessary setting for teaching and learning to take place; and she believed that the improvement of teachers' instructional practices was best achieved in a setting that built on the positive aspects of their skills. Thus, she strove to maintain an environment that contributed to the happiness, safety, and productivity of all participants.

To recap from the narrative, we found in our study of Orchard Park a school with a warm and nurturing climate. We described its well-maintained facilities; we commented on the emphasis placed on social goals and the social curriculum, comprising activities designed to improve the social responsibility of students and increase their self-esteem; we noted the various policies that had been adopted to achieve and maintain "order without regimentation;" and we illustrated the caring and supportive way in which participants in the organization--students and teachers alike--were accorded the right to be heard and to be taken seriously.

We see in many of Hedges's routine actions the keys to the development and maintenance of Orchard Park's social milieu. Figures 6, 7, and 8 illustrate respectively Hedges's actions of communicating, monitoring, and governing with respect to safety and order at Orchard Park. (Refer to target D in each figure.) In addition, Figure 6 illustrates communication actions directed at student relations in the school (target C). Hedges interacted constantly with students, reminding them of school rules and social responsibility, counseling them, and complimenting them on good behavior or appearance. Hedges was a visible presence throughout the school and was able to maintain safety and order as she supervised students playing in the schoolyard, walking through the corridors, and eating in the cafeteria. Many of Hedges's daily interactions with students emphasized her social goals as she promoted student cooperation, responsibility, citizenship, and feelings of self-worth.

As she supervised students in the building and on the playgrounds, Hedges attended both to the need to maintain safety and order and to her concern for students' feelings. She monitored student conduct and communicated with them to correct inappropriate behavior, reinforce responsible behavior, and clarify school rules. She constantly reminded students to pick up trash, bus their trays in the cafeteria, play in the correct areas of the play yard, walk instead of run in the hallways, refrain from pushing and shoving, and be quiet in the corridors and auditorium. But Hedges also used her supervisory responsibilities as an opportunity to carry out a more social function; she frequently stopped to talk to students, expressing delight at seeing them or remarking about the clothes they were wearing. Children often approached her to describe important events in their lives. Many of these brief interactions were concluded with a hug exchanged between the principal and the youngster. Interactions such as these constituted a sizeable portion of Hedges's communicating, monitoring, and governing

safety and order at the school. (See Figures 6, 7, and 8, referring to target D.)

An additional strategy that Hedges used in her supervision of students was to model appropriate behavior. She might, for example, pick up a piece of trash and deposit it in a container or take a food tray to the cafeteria kitchen as she reminded students of the rules, often mentioning that they should keep the school as tidy as they would their homes.

Hedges's desire to counsel students played a large part in her interactions with children, especially those who had committed some infraction of school rules. We have related her early desire to become a child psychologist, an interest that she reported being able to incorporate into her work as a principal. We witnessed many instances of her counseling approach as she dealt with students whom she had seen misbehaving or who had been sent to her for fighting, stealing, acting inappropriately in class, or failing to complete their school work. In all instances, she carefully took the time to listen to what the students had to say about their behavior. Hedges explained this strategy in terms of her humanistic philosophy:

> If you don't do something, [children] feel . . . that their problems are falling on deaf ears. I tell the staff all the time, "You really do have to take the time out, let a child explain what happened, and be willing to at least listen, whether it's what that particular child wants, or not--it's just that someone has listened." (I, 10/26/82, p. 14)

Students were aware that Hedges would take appropriate action as well as listen. When infractions were serious, Hedges would tell students that she was going to phone their parents to report the incident. In some instances, she called the parent immediately and had the child explain the circumstances over the phone. In other cases, she followed up later on her intention to speak with the parents. Students saw Hedges as someone who was serious about discipline and true to her word.

We have mentioned earlier the importance that Hedges placed on building on the positive aspects of people in the school. This approach was most apparent in her dealings with problem students as she implemented special plans to communicate to them a sense of self-worth and of social responsibility. The reader will recall, for example, the incident described earlier in which Hedges appointed two difficult students as captains of the chair crew and gave them the task of selecting other students who would help them set up and put away chairs in the auditorium. The youngsters saw this as a serious yet enjoyable responsibility that gave them status among their peers. In another instance, Hedges urged that a child who had a particularly negative attitude toward school be assigned to the traffic detail. His

teacher remarked that this made a dramatic improvement in the boy's classroom behavior and attitude.

Besides designing special assignments for students who were regarded as having behavior problems, Hedges also attempted to deal with serious infractions of school rules through alternatives to suspension that instructed students in social responsibility. For example, she directed students whom she was disciplining to pick up trash during recess and lunchtime, thereby contributing to the good of the school. One teacher summarized the tenacity with which Hedges dealt with problem students:

> [Hedges] has a relationship with almost all of the children that regularly act out, that may be really on a black list in their classroom. If they just aren't living up to behavior, she will find a way to have a relationship with them. If it's your child that's constantly acting out, you would almost want her to say, "Doggone! Let's give up on that kid." But she really does not. (TI, 5/11/83, p. 5)

Focusing her attention on misbehavers was by no means the only way that Hedges used the social curriculum to enhance students' sense of responsibility and self-worth. In addition to such strategies as instituting leadership training activities for student council members, Hedges worked to promote a schoolwide focus on the social curriculum through the introduction of a set of self-esteem materials. The reader will recall that these materials were presented to teachers in a faculty meeting at the start of school, and contrary to her usual policy of allowing teachers autonomy, Hedges asked staff members to use them as a regular part of their programs. Teachers reported that they seldom used these materials, and our observations of Hedges did not reveal that she checked in any systematic way to see that teachers were incorporating the lessons into their plans. Teachers did, however, use a variety of other strategies aimed at the affective domain of student development: magic circle activities, life box materials, art projects, and inanimate objects to stimulate discussions about feelings and attitudes. We suspect that Hedges did not feel the need to monitor the use of the specific self-esteem materials she had proposed because she knew that teachers were addressing the issue through other means.

In our discussion of the instructional climate at Orchard Park, we have portrayed the variety of strategies that Hedges employed to create and maintain an environment that was orderly and that contributed to the emotional well-being of students. We have described how the warm and positive climate at Orchard Park was shaped by the principal's beliefs and values about schools and her aspirations for students. By demonstrating these values in her daily interactions and conversations, Hedges encouraged an environment in which staff members shared her child-centered

approach. Positive personal attitudes were evident in the interactions and comments of students and teachers alike. We have mentioned ways in which Hedges's actions shaped students' attitudes and behaviors. The reader will also recall that teacher turnover at the school occurred only for reasons of retirement; in addition, a number of teachers at other schools in the district had requested placement to Orchard Park when such assignments might become available. Thus, participants in the school displayed high levels of satisfaction with the organization. Much of this satisfaction was related to the climate of the school, the warm, positive, and nurturing environment that embodied Frances Hedges's vision of the school as a means for personal growth and improvement.

Establishing the Instructional Organization: The second avenue employed by Hedges toward the realization of her goals was the development of an effective instructional organization at Orchard Park Elementary School. (See Figure 1 for our general model of instructional management.) As we have indicated in our narrative thus far, Hedges's influence in this area was pervasive. Her extensive experience in elementary school curriculum and instruction constituted a rich background and acquired expertise with which she was able to shape the instructional program and teaching practices at Orchard Park.

The academic goals that Hedges promoted for students were shaped by her beliefs and by "givens" in her context. For example, she considered the acquisition of reading skills to be the mainstay of students' ability to succeed in school. Because changes in the composition of the community served by the school had resulted in a student population whose standardized test scores in reading and other basic skills were below national norms, Hedges's goal for these youngsters was to bring them up to grade level by the fifth and sixth grades, so that they would enter junior high with the skills and self-confidence needed to succeed in that setting.

The Orchard Park community was a relatively stable one, especially in comparison with other areas of the city, which meant that Hedges could establish and promote such long-range goals with the expectation that most of the school's students would remain at Orchard Park long enough to realize the benefits, academic and social, of the school's program. In addition, the school's community supported the principal and her programs. Although parents were not frequently involved in classrooms, they turned out in large numbers for evening programs at the school, and they assisted on field trips. Thus, unlike other principals in our study, Hedges did not need to devote time and energy to building community support or managing political issues among groups of parents.

Hedges's relationship with the district office was also a source of opportunity. She viewed the writing of the mandated three-year plan, for example, as a means for coordinating and developing curriculum and instruction at the school. Working on

the plan became a professional development activity for the staff rather than simply time-consuming paperwork. Thus, the larger community and institutional contexts of the Orchard Park setting enabled Hedges to carry out instructional planning and development under stable, supportive conditions.

As we have noted, a great many of Hedges's observed actions (45%) were directed toward the work structure of the organization. Most frequently, these were acts of communication (16%), followed by scheduling, allocating resources, and organizing (9%), and monitoring (9%). A less frequent, but potent, action was goal setting and planning (5%). Compared to our other principals, Hedges engaged in planning activities with considerable more frequency; the reader must keep in mind, however, that our year at Orchard Park happened to coincide with the time during which staff was working on the three-year instructional plan for the school.

As Hedges employed the strategies listed above to influence the work structure at Orchard Park, many of her actions involved direct contact with teachers. An important ingredient in her capacity to act as an instructional leader at the school was her ability to provide input to teachers without alienating them. Staff members regarded her as competent in instructional matters, and they not only expected her to provide suggestions and constructive criticism but also actively sought her advice and counsel. While on the surface this may seem quite natural, research shows that most teachers enjoy or expect autonomy in matters related to classroom instruction (Lortie, 1975). Hedges's ability to alter teachers' expectations and establish a culture of instruction at the school was facilitated by the emphasis she placed on building on people's strengths and emphasizing the positive. Many of her actions (7%) were episodes of communication aimed at staff relations.

While there were many strategies that Hedges used to influence instruction both directly and indirectly at the school, perhaps the most influential and pervasive that we observed was her practice of informal classroom visits. Because she formally evaluated teachers only every two years, Hedges preferred to monitor instruction by regularly dropping in on teachers as a way to keep track of what was going on in classrooms and to make suggestions or recommendations to teachers. On many of these visits, she assisted teachers by working with students individually or in groups. And although she favored open classroom structures in which students could direct some of their own learning, she was supportive of teacher-centered approaches because she realized that some students needed more guidance and structure than others.

The most important feature of these informal classroom visits was the strategy she used to give teachers feedback and make suggestions to them. She told us that she first tried to build rapport with a staff member before giving her response to their teaching methods and/or materials:

> Informal observations [are where I try] pointing out the positive and then getting to the weak areas after I have secured a positive relationship or dialogue. . . . I operate with the idea that we really are all a team and if I can just take everybody's positives, and give them enough strokes on those positives, then I can get [at] those areas that are not so well done. (TI, 10/18/82, p. 8)

When Hedges did feel a need to comment to teachers, she did so in a low-key, nonthreatening manner without embarrassing, confronting, or demeaning them. In these instances, her communication about the work structure at Orchard Park was linked with communication to promote positive staff relations. (Refer to Figure 6 for distribution of communication actions.) Hedges often advised teachers to talk with someone else for assistance and ideas. Frequently this involved arranging for the reading specialist to work with a teacher to set up reading centers in the classroom or to arrange a program for a student in the reading lab. At other times, however, Hedges recommended that teachers talk with colleagues who were especially successful in using some program or instructional strategy, such as the self-esteem materials or the new writing program. In this way, the principal served as a "linking agent" or "information broker" in acting as an intermediary between teachers. Because she visited classrooms regularly and communicated frequently with her staff about their work, she knew what her teachers were doing; as a result, she was able to make accurate recommendations about which teachers might be the most helpful to their colleagues.

Hedges also used these classroom visits as an opportunity to promote positive student relations at Orchard Park. She publicly complimented youngsters about their behavior or academic performance; typically, when she had completed a visit, she told students how well they had behaved, read, or carried out other tasks and thanked students and teachers for allowing her to observe the class.

Such public displays of praise were also a way for Hedges to recognize the positive qualities of teachers and their programs. Therefore, she used her informal monitoring of classroom instruction as an opportunity to build upon the positive aspects of teachers as well as students.

The result of Hedges's nonthreatening approach was that teachers were not disturbed by her presence in their classrooms, and many acknowledged that her visits were worthwhile because they gave the principal the chance to find out what teachers were doing and how students were responding. Ironically, the only complaint we heard about these informal visits was that they did not occur frequently enough for Hedges to get a complete picture of what was happening in the classroom. In fact, teachers often approached the principal for advice about instructional materials and teaching methods, and they invited her to their classrooms

for parties, presentations, and plays. Thus, many of Hedges's communications about instruction depicted in Figure 6 were initiated by teachers themselves. They perceived that the principal truly cared about students and wanted to help teachers improve their instruction.

Besides responding to current instructional methods and materials that teachers were using, Hedges also made suggestions and recommendations as programs were being planned. Figure 10 depicts her actions in setting goals and planning. Although such actions were not routine in the sense that they constituted a large portion of her leadership activities, they were nonetheless a potent avenue that she used to influence her staff about instructional and curricular matters.

Hedges was a highly visible person during the three-year planning process that we witnessed during our study of Orchard Park. As she worked with staff in the development of the plan, we observed once again her use of a nonauthoritarian style of providing input that was readily accepted by her teachers. She regularly complimented staff on their ideas, acknowledging the positive contributions that they made. In addition, she promoted ideas that she wished to see incorporated into the plan. For example, she was eager to see the concept of math manipulatives included as a component of the instructional program in mathematics. She believed that rote memorization and seatwork did not constitute a well-rounded instructional program and that students needed "hands-on" experience to grasp fully certain mathematical concepts. Through her participation in planning meetings, Hedges was able to convince teachers to adopt this idea and include it in the overall instructional plan for the school.

In addition to working on instructional plans at the school level, Hedges also participated actively in the planning of instructional programs of individual students. She made it a practice to attend planning meetings with teachers and parents when she knew the student involved or had a particular concern about the student's program. Her participation was a combination of several actions with overlapping purposes: communicating and planning related to the work structure, communicating to promote student relations, and governing work at the school. During these meetings, for example, we observed Hedges suggesting that teachers incorporate math manipulatives into a student's program and discussing with a teacher how the self-esteem materials that the principal had obtained were being used for a particular child.

Hedges's involvement in the planning process at Orchard Park was not limited to interactions with teachers. She also enlisted help from the district office to support instructional programs or address issues of importance to her. For example, we witnessed a number of episodes in which she communicated with district staff members about such long-range projects as planning a computer literacy program, establishing math centers at the

school, and incorporating research on time-on-task into the coming year's staff development activities.

These examples of Hedges's actions related to instruction at Orchard Park--communicating, monitoring, and planning--illustrate her keen desire to improve the school's program rather than simply to maintain it. She actively led her staff to think about methods and materials that would create appropriate instructional settings and delivery for students.

This concern with building instructional programs was also reflected in the way in which Hedges scheduled and allocated resources at the school. Figure 9 illustrates Hedges's scheduling and allocating actions with respect to the work structure at Orchard Park. Perhaps the most fundamental way that she influenced instruction through these actions was by securing the services of the reading specialist for the school. With the principal's approval and support, the reading specialist became a central figure in instruction. Hedges gave her the responsibilities of conducting reading tests, assisting teachers in developing reading centers in their classrooms, establishing individual reading programs for students who attended the reading lab, and assisting in the assignment of students to classrooms based on their reading skills.

Because of the reading specialist's prominence in matters related to reading instruction, many teachers considered her to be a secondary instructional leader at the site. They looked to her for guidance, much as they did to Hedges. The principal's delegation of such responsibility to the specialist created some conflicts among classroom teachers, however. They did not always agree with the specialist's placement of students into reading levels; in some cases they felt that students had been placed in levels that were too difficult for them and, as a result, were becoming frustrated by an inability to handle the materials.

Eventually, Hedges had to intercede in this conflict. Her actions in this matter clearly illustrated one strategy she used to govern work at the school (see Figure 8) and how she communicated with teachers to promote positive staff relations (see Figure 6). Hedges sided with the reading specialist in this conflict and did not waver from this position, but she acted as a mediator by talking with teachers and the specialist to understand their positions, organizing a staff retreat to deal with the communications problems between them, and communicating the resolution of the problem in the Faculty Minutes. Although she made a concerted effort to resolve the teachers' concerns, Hedges's support of the specialist's decisions about student placement underscored her trust in the specialist and the importance she gave to reading at the school.

Hedges availed herself of other resources at the school as she attempted to influence instruction and build programs. One of these was in-service training. Hedges allocated resources so that teachers could attend workshops, seminars, and other

training sessions for staff development. Whenever teachers showed interest in a particular topic, such as the use of math manipulatives or the development of reading programs, Hedges not only enabled them to participate in development activities outside the school but also arranged for them to share their learning with the rest of the faculty. She tried to build on teachers' strengths and extend her resources by promoting ways for them to learn from each other.

Selecting textbooks and assigning students to classes were other important ways that Hedges used scheduling and allocating resources as avenues for influencing the instructional organization at Orchard Park. She secured new math textbooks for teachers and expressed delight when teachers responded favorably to them. She arranged for the school to pilot textbooks in areas such as science and social studies that suffered from shortages. At the end of the school year, when student assignments to next year's classes were being made, Hedges was actively involved in the process, providing background information about individuals for staff to consider in making their placements.

Besides these more routine actions, another infrequent, but potent, action that Hedges used in shaping instruction at the school was the hiring and assignment of new teachers. Although Hedges had few opportunities to use this avenue of influence, when she did so, she attempted to use the occasion to establish a balance between classes in the instructional program. For example, she had hired a sixth-grade teacher who used a more nontraditional classroom organization because the other teacher at that grade level represented a traditional, teacher-centered approach. While Hedges realized that some students needed more structure than others, she wanted to provide alternative teaching styles for students.

Our discussion of Hedges's influence on the instructional organization at Orchard Park has illustrated the variety of strategies that she used to shape and build curriculum and instruction. The frequency of actions that she directed at the work structure (45%) and the types of behaviors that she favored--communicating, monitoring, and scheduling, allocating resources, and organizing--were similar to the activities of most of the other principals in our study, with one very important difference. In Hedges's case, her actions were directed at the very substance of instruction in her school. She was involved specifically with curriculum and with instructional delivery. She had firm beliefs about instruction, and she did not hesitate to influence her staff to reflect these beliefs in their own work. She let her desires be known, however, in ways that were nonauthoritarian and nonthreatening; and she respected and valued input from her staff. Her willingness to listen, to reinforce, and to guide enabled her to create a culture of instruction at the school; instructional matters were discussed frequently and openly among the teachers, principal, and reading specialist. Such interactions contributed to a team approach to teaching and learning that fostered growth and improvement. Hedges was

instrumental in shaping the work of that team and guiding its activities.

Conclusion

Our case study has described in great detail the organization and operation of work at Orchard Park Elementary School. We have portrayed its urban setting as a relatively stable one that provided more opportunities than contraints when compared with other urban schools in our study. Our discussion of the school's patrons has highlighted the basic academic and social needs of its students and the contributions and support of their parents. We described the school's teaching staff, emphasizing their shared goals, focus on professional development, and varied approaches to instruction. But the central character of this monograph has been Frances Hedges, Orchard Park's principal, who was recommended to us by district administrators as a highly successful instructional leader. We explored her beliefs and experiences, her aspirations for her school, and her routine activities, searching for an understanding of her role as instructional leader and manager.

Hedges's child-centered approach to education, which emphasized the importance of a caring and nurturing environment, shaped both the structure of the school program and the processes that characterized how work was carried out. Our analysis has linked her routine actions to her beliefs and goals, the contextual givens at Orchard Park, and the organization of instruction at the school. We have described the ways in which Hedges's actions were connected to her overarching perspective of schools and her aspirations for students at Orchard Park. From this analysis has emerged an image of instructional leadership in which the principal's use of routine activities directly influenced and shaped the content and nature of instruction in the school as well as the climate in which teaching and learning took place.

Hedges not only maintained order and set the conditions for instruction, as did all of our principals, but she regularly and directly involved herself in matters related to teaching and learning. More than in any of the other schools in our study, we witnessed at Orchard Park the direct effects of the principal's actions on features of the school's program and operation closely associated with the delivery of instruction--including curriculum content, classroom organization, and teaching strategies. Frances Hedges's success as an instructional leader was the direct result of her expertise, acquired from many years of classroom experience, and the supportive manner in which she worked with her staff. She was able both to respect the individuality of her staff members and to build consensus around goals and priorities. In this manner, she directly shaped Orchard Park's instructional program and generated high levels of satisfaction for her students and staff.

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